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* *Prefixed to Jan. Mag. in the binding.*

The Hiſtory of Europe, continued. [633.]

Affairs of Denmark, &c.

THE quick ſucceſſion and diſgrace of miniſters and favourites which had taken place for ſome time at the court of Copenhagen, were no uncertain indications of a weak and tottering government. It is not, however, eaſy to form any concluſion upon ſuch events in arbitrary ſtates, where public affairs are locked up in the obſcurity of ſilence, and the myſtery of intrigue; and the few who are acquainted with cauſes, or can judge of events, are too prudent, or too much intereſted, to diſcloſe what they know.

It was, however, to be expected, that the criſis to which affairs were brought by the late revolution, and the diſgrace which the reigning Queen met with, muſt have brought on an eclaircifſement, which would have gratified the curioſity of the public with a real ſtate of facts, however ſatisfied they may be as to their juſtice or propriety. It was indeed thought, that the near relation which the unfortunate Queen bore to the throne of G. Britain, would, in juſtice to her character and honour, have occaſioned ſuch an explanation's being inſiſted upon, as would have prevented her falling a ſacrifice to the malice of a party; while the inveſtigation of her conduct might have expoſed their ſecret views in ſuch a manner, as even to convince a miſguided prince, of their dangerous tendency.

Nothing of this nature has, however,

been done; and this myſterious tranſaction ſtill continues in its original darkneſs and obſcurity. The court of G. Britain, wiſely perhaps, forbore to take any farther intereſt in it, than the preſervation of the unfortunate Queen's life, which is ſaid to have been in danger, the recovery of her liberty, and the obtaining of a ſtipend for her ſubſiſtence in another country.

In this ſtate of things, we can only give an account of ſuch facts as are apparent to the world, and draw ſuch evident concluſions as naturally ariſe from them, without any other knowledge of the preceding cauſes, than what appears from their effects. Weak reigns are always the ages of favouritiſm; and odious as favourites are in general to mankind, they are ſeldom more ſo than they deſerve: the weakneſs that makes them neceſſary, can ſeldom diſtinguiſh in its choice; and the qualities which make them agreeable, are not often thoſe that are cultivated by the virtuous or the wiſe.

The late Count Struenſee was one of thoſe numerous adventurers which, from the great number of its governments, abound more in Germany than in any other country. They are generally people of low birth, who receive a peculiar mixed education, that is neceſſary to the purſuits for which they are intended. Some knowledge of the civil law, of the rights of particular ſtates, of public forms, and official writings, together with a minute attention to the etiquette of the reſpective courts, are indiſpenſably requiſite; to which may be added, ſome knowledge in chymiſtry, if not in phyſic; of the moſt polite modern languages; and of the moſt faſhionable writers. Among the number of them thus endowed, that ſwarm about the different courts, and ſtraggle from one to the other, where they are well received, if not employed, there muſt be ſeveral ſo eminent in their genius, as to riſe by their merit to the firſt honours and employments; and thoſe who are not ſo happily diſtinguiſhed, ſeldom fail, among ſuch a variety of characters as are exhibited among ſome hundreds of ſovereigns, to find ſome one to whom they will render themſelves uſeful or agreeable. This encourages others to the ſame purſuit, and the ſucceſſion is never at an end.

Struenſee was the ſon of a Lutheran clergyman, who is, or was, the ſuperintendent of ſome churches in the duchies of Sleſwic or Holſtein: he ſtudied phyſic and chymiſtry, and is ſaid to have been recommended to the preſent King of Denmark at Hamburg, as a young man of conſiderable parts and abilities. He is repreſented to have been, in reality, a man of inſinuating addreſs, ſome abilities, great ambition, profligate manners, and abandoned in his principles.

His progreſs in favour was ſo rapid as to amaze every body. He quickly abandoned his profeſſion, became miniſter of ſtate, and was, with his friend and fellow-adventurer Brandt, raiſed at once to the firſt rank of nobility in the kingdom, they being both created Earls. Struenſee alſo ſent for his brother, who was made counſellor of ſtate, and placed either high in or at the head of the finances. The new favourites, grown giddy by this rapid elevation, loſt all appearances of moderation in their proſperity. Count Bernſtorff, and the old and faithful ſervants of the crown, were diſgraced, and baniſhed from court; and ſuch of the ancient nobility as did not degrade themſelves by their conduct, met with the ſame fate.

It is ſaid that Count Brandt ſhewed, from the firſt, all that inſolence and arrogance that ſeem peculiar to new men, upon a ſudden and unexpected riſe; but that Struenſee had more ſenſe and moderation in the beginning, until the ſhameful adulation and ſervility of the nobility, made him at length to forget himſelf ſo entirely, as to ſhew the greateſt contempt, upon every occaſion, for the natives of the country, their language, manners, and even their laws. The King, during this time, from whatever cauſe, is repreſented to have been in a moſt deplorable ſtate of imbecility, both of body and mind.

It was not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch a ſtate of affairs could have been laſting in any country. Every thing was done that could wound the prejudices of the people. Struenſee and Brandt were profeſſed free-thinkers, and publicly laughed at thoſe religious forms and opinions to which the people were moſt ſtrongly attached. The court was looſe and diſſolute; maſked balls and entertainments were continually given; foreign amuſements, manners, and cuſtoms, introduced; and the plain manners, and ſober decorum, of the natives, treated with the moſt ſovereign contempt. An ancient and

and ſevere law againſt adultery was repealed [xxxiii. 376. xxxiv. 215.]; which the people conſidered in the ſame light that they would have done a reward for the committing of it; and this operating upon their already conceived opinions, they concluded that all fences moral and religious were to be broken down.

An attempt to diſſolve the King's guards, and to incorporate them into other regiments, precipitated matters to a concluſion, ſooner than they probably would otherwiſe have arrived. The guards ſtood to their arms, and abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to the degradation of being incorporated with other troops; but offered to lay them down, and accept of their diſcharge, upon obtaining liberty to retire to their reſpective countries. It was thought neceſſary to accept of this expedient, and the guards were accordingly diſcharged.

This extraordinary meaſure afforded an opportunity to the party who were concerting the ruin of the favourites, which they did not neglect to make uſe of. It was whiſpered, that the diſmiſſion of thoſe troops, who were the proper guards of the King's perſon, and whoſe fidelity and attachment to him were undiſputed, was the reſult of a deſign which had been laid, to compel the King to ſign an act of renunciation, and to eſtabliſh a regency, by which the government was to be totally and finally lodged in the hands of the Queen and the favourites; that the ruin of the kingdom was intended; and that Struenſee, who was a tool and a creature to France, had already diſgraced Count Bernſtorff, who was the upholder of the Engliſh and Ruſſian ſyſtem, in order that the French influence might become ſupreme in their councils; that the whole adminiſtration would be lodged in the hands of foreigners; and that inſolence and contempt which they already found ſo intolerable in a few, would then be extended to every department.

Theſe inſinuations ſpread rapidly among the people, while the original authors were totally concealed; and the averſion to the favourites was ſo general, that among ſo many thouſand people, they had not one friend that would inform them of what every body thought and talked of. They were accordingly wrapt up in the moſt profound ſecurity, while thoſe meaſures were taking with equal ſilence and ſecrecy, the effects of which they were ſo ſoon and ſo fatally to experience.

The Queen-dowager, Julia Maria, ſiſter to the Duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, and mother to the King's half-brother, Prince Frederick, was at the head of the conſpiracy which was now formed. She is repreſented, on the one hand, as an artful, ambitious, and intriguing woman, who having been encouraged from the weakneſs of adminiſtration, to form dangerous deſigns in favour of her ſon, who was now arrived in his 19th year, had with that view, under an appearance of the greateſt friendſhip, impoſed upon the youth and innocence of the young Queen, and artfully led her into thoſe meaſures which were the moſt exceptionable and unpopular in her conduct; while, in the mean time, her numerous emiſſaries were employed to miſrepreſent all her actions, and to ſwell her ſlighteſt errors, and the caſual inadvertencies of youth, into crimes of the blackeſt dye; that in the ſame manner, and with the ſame deſign, ſhe practiſed upon the weakneſs of the King, to render him odious to the people; and that even the late meaſure of incorporating or reducing the guards, had originated from her. On the other hand, ſhe is repreſented as a princeſs of extraordinary virtue, reſolution, and abilities, which ſhe has properly and happily exerted, in reſcuing the country from a ſhameful and ignominious foreign yoke.

A maſked ball having been given at court, Jan. 16. 1772, the enſuing morning was deſtined for the execution of the plot. The principal perſons concerned, beſides the Queen-dowager and Pr. Frederick, were, Count Oſtein, who is now miniſter of ſtate, Count Rantzau, Gen. Eichſtedt, and Colonel Koller, who commanded the regiment that was that night upon duty, and brought over all the officers to their party. About four o'clock in the morning, the Queen-dowager, her ſon, Gen. Eichſtedt, and Count Rantzau, entered the King's bed-chamber, and ordered the valet de chambre to awake him, and, in the ſurpriſe and alarm that this unexpected intruſion excited, informed him, that the reigning Queen and the two Struenſees were at that inſtant buſy in drawing up an act of renunciation, which they would immediately after compel him to ſign; and that the only means he could uſe to prevent ſo imminent a danger was, to ſign

thoſe orders without loſs of time, which they had brought with them, for arreſting the Queen and her accomplices. The King having heſitated at this propoſal, the Queen Julia told him, that if he did not ſign them, it would be of no great conſequence, as ſhe and her ſon would do it without him. Some other converſation paſſed, and the King was in too great a terror not to comply with their demands.

Count Rantzau, and three officers, were diſpatched at that untimely hour to the Queen's apartments, and immediately arreſted her. She ſhewed great indignation, and ſeemed almoſt diſtracted at this inſult; told Rantzau, that he ſhould loſe his head for it; and repeatedly attempted to make her way to the King's apartments. She was, however, obliged to ſubmit to a neceſſity which ſhe could not reſiſt, and had but a very ſhort time allowed her to prepare for a journey to the caſtle of Cronenburg; for which place ſhe was obliged, with the infant Princeſs, to ſet out early in the morning, attended by Lady Moſtyn, and eſcorted by a party of dragoons.

Struenſee and Brandt were ſeized in their beds: and it ſeems to have been done before the orders were ſigned; for the former having ſtarted up ſuddenly, and demanded eagerly to ſee the authority upon which he was arreſted, Col. Koller ſhewed him the point of his ſword, and ſaid that was ſufficient authority for the preſent, but that he made himſelf anſwerable for the King's confirming it. Struenſee's brother was ſeized at the ſame time, and the three were ſent together to the citadel. Struenſee's adherents, and moſt of the members of the late adminiſtration, were ſeized the ſame night, to the number of about eighteen, among whom were Gen. Gahler and his lady, the maſter of the horſe, Baron Bulow, Gen. Gude, Col. Falkenſhiold, Gen. Heſſelburg, Wildebrand, a privy counſellor, and two ſecretaries of ſtate. Some of theſe were ſent to different priſons, and others confined to their own houſes.

The populace received ſome intelligence of theſe tranſactions early in the morning, and proceeded to great exceſſes, in the eagerneſs of their joy for the downfal of the favourites. Near an hundred houſes are ſaid to have been plundered or demoliſhed upon this occaſion. As the people had ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to the King's perſon, he paſſed ſlowly in a coach through the principal ſtreets of the city, in company with his brother, to make them eaſy.

The unfortunate Struenſee, who had ſeen himſelf the idol of a crowded levee on the day immediately preceding, where the firſt people of the kingdom ſeemed ready to proſtrate themſelves, if he but happened to caſt his eyes towards them, and meaſured their importance when they came out, only by the countenance which he ſhewed them within, was now in a dark dungeon, chained to the floor, and loaded with the execrations of all mankind; while they who were moſt proud of his favour before, now either totally denied, or evaded the connection, and were the loudeſt in the outcry againſt him. The animoſity of the populace to him, was ſo extreme, that the commiſſioners were obliged to take his examinations within the citadel, with all the bridges drawn up to prevent their outrage. Nothing was to be met with in the ſtreets but ridiculous hiſtories and ballads of his riſe and fall, and caricatura prints and pictures, which people were obliged to buy, to prevent their being thought his friends or abettors.

The government ſeemed now to be entirely lodged in the hands of the Queen-dowager and her ſon, ſupported and aſſiſted by thoſe who had the principal ſhare in the revolution; while the King ſeemed little more than a pageant, whoſe perſon and name it was neceſſary occaſionally to make uſe of. All the officers who had a hand in the revolution were immediately promoted, and an almoſt total change took place in all the departments of adminiſtration. A new council was appointed, in which Pr. Frederick preſided; and a commiſſion of eight members, to examine the papers of the priſoners, and to commence a proceſs againſt them.

The city was illuminated on the night of the revolution, as if it had been a deliverance from a foreign enemy. Dr Munter, and other court-preachers, were employed on the following Sunday, to preach thankſgiving-ſermons, which breathed none of that tenderneſs and charity that are the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the Chriſtian religion, but were calculated only to inflame and exaſperate in the higheſt degree the minds of the people, which were already too well prepared for the purpoſe. This conduct,

conduct, which was equally indecent with reſpect to the character and dignity of the Queen, againſt whom no charge was yet eſtabliſhed, as it was culpable with reſpect to the unhappy culprits, whoſe proceſs was already begun, and their lives trembling in the hands of their judges, was no leſs degrading with reſpect to their own ſacred character and function. In theſe diſcourſes the late government was deſcribed much in the ideas that have been conceived of the reign of antichriſt, and the members that conducted it, as having no other views than thoſe deviliſh ones, of totally overthrowing all religion, morality, and law. In a word, their bombaſtic ſtyle diſtinguiſhed them as much from oratory, as the nature of the ſubject, and their affected exclamations of piety, did from Chriſtianity.

In the mean time, amuſements and diverſions, which were ſo much complained of before, were now aſſiduouſly cultivated and promoted; and inſtead of that ſerious and melancholy air of ſolemnity, which the preſent ſtate of affairs demanded, the court preſented a round of balls, operas, entertainments, and concerts: two birth-days, which immediately ſucceeded the revolution, were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and every thing bore the marks of diſſipation and levity.

Moſt of the ladies of the Queen's houſehold were permitted to follow her to Cronenburg: it does not appear that her confinement in that place was at any time very ſtrict: ſhe was permitted to walk upon the ramparts, and to take the air in a coach, under a guard. Her ſon, the Prince-Royal, who was entered into his fifth year, was put into the care of a lady of quality, who was appointed governeſs, under the ſuperintendency of the Queen-dowager.

Struenſee and Brandt were hardly treated in priſon. Under pretence that they intended to make away with themſelves, they were removed from the neighbourhood of the walls in their reſpective dungeons, and chained down to the middle of the floor. Brandt, in the beginning, had amuſed himſelf with playing upon the flute; but upon a ſuppoſition that he intended to choke himſelf with it, it was taken away; and they were both deprived of the uſe of tobacco upon ſome ſimilar pretence. Several of their adherents were baniſhed the kingdom, and others to their native provinces, for life. Struenſee's brother was diſcharged, and received money to carry him out of the kingdom, as nothing appeared againſt him, which ſeems to have been the caſe of the others. Gen. Gahler's lady was permitted to withdraw from the citadel to her own houſe; Gen. Gude, and the two cabinet-ſecretaries, were ſet at liberty; and Baron Bulow, the maſter of the horſe, was enlarged, upon parole that he would not go without his own houſe.

Struenſee, at his firſt examination before the commiſſioners, was ſhewn the inſtruments of torture, which were brought into the room on purpoſe to intimidate him: we do not find, however, that either he or Brandt were put to the queſtion. They both underwent frequent and long examinations, and were once confronted. Upon that trying occaſion, they both behaved with dignity and reſolution; they neither accuſed nor blamed each other, nor lamented their ſituation. It is ſaid, that the whole number of queſtions propoſed to Struenſee in the courſe of his examinations, amounted to 637. It is alſo ſaid, that he and Col. Falkenſchiold were confronted at one of theſe examinations; and that the latter having made very heavy charges upon him in his evidence, Struenſee replied, that he would willingly ſubmit to all thoſe accuſations, provided his doing ſo could be of ſervice to the Colonel. If this circumſtance be true, it is far from indicating a heart totally depraved and abandoned.

After more than two months examination, the grand commiſſion at length paſſed ſentence of death, forfeiture of eſtate, and degradation from their rank, upon the two Counts, Struenſee and Brandt. Among the crimes with which the former was charged, were the aſſuming of an extraordinary and unconſtitutional power; his having been guilty of high treaſon, in expediting ſeveral orders from the privy council, without the King's conſent or knowledge; his having made uſeleſs and dangerous changes in the government, and ſuſpicious arrangements in the capital and palace; his having diſcharged the guards; and his having been guilty of peculation in his office, and embezzling large ſums of the public money [xxxiv. 215.]. Brandt was charged, in general, with having been his confident, and privy to all his crimes;

and in particular, with ſome diſreſpectful familiarity with the King's perſon, which was brought within the conſtruction of a law, that makes it death to lay violent hands on him.

The King ſigned the ſentence, which contained the order for cutting off their right arms, and then their heads, for diſmembering and diſembowelling their bodies, for fixing their heads and hands upon iron ſpikes, and expoſing their quarters upon the wheel, with great unconcern, and went immediately after to the Italian opera.

The unfortunate criminals behaved with great intrepidity, and were publicly executed (April 28.) three days after the ſentence was paſſed, ſurrounded by great bodies of foot and dragoons, and by an infinite number of ſpectators. They did not ſee each other; and Brandt was firſt executed. He was attended by a clergyman, and behaved with decency upon the ſcaffold; but ſhewed an unconcern and indifference, which ſeemed to the populace in ſome degree a confirmation of the report that had been ſpread of his being an Atheiſt. Struenſee ſhewed equal firmneſs, but more devotion, and a more awful ſenſe of the change which he was to undergo [xxxiv. 258. xxxv. 233.]. It is ſaid, that he read the ſentence in the priſon, with a compoſure that ſurpriſed every body preſent, until he came to the part which related to Brandt, when he ſeemed to be greatly affected, at finding that his puniſhment was to be equal in degree with his own.

There were no other capital executions exhibited: a Count Wolinſky is ſaid to have had his tongue cut out, for having ſaid ſome things that reflected upon the King, and upon the Queen Julia, and to have been baniſhed the Daniſh dominions for ever. Orders were given to the commiſſion to ſtop all proceedings againſt Col. Heſſelburg, Adm. Hanſen, Lieut. Aboe, the privy-counſellor Willebrandt, Counſellor Sturtz, and Profeſſor Berger; and they were all ſet at liberty, without any declaration either of their guilt or innocence. Willebrandt and Sturtz were, however, obliged to retire from the iſland of Zealand, and had penſions beſtowed on them; and Berger was baniſhed to Aalberg; Col. Heſſelburg was ordered to retire to Holſtein, and promiſed a regiment: Falkenſchiold, Gen. Gahler, and ſome others, were continued in priſon.

It ſeems pretty evident, by the diſcharge of ſo many members of the late adminiſtration, and of the particular friends and adherents of the late favourites, that the charge of their intending to force the King to ſign an act of renunciation, and to the appointment of a regency, was not founded in fact, and was only calculated to anſwer the preſent purpoſes of the ruling faction, as ſuch a ſcheme muſt have comprehended a conſiderable number of thoſe perſons, and could not fail of being brought to light in the courſe of this inquiry.

The grand commiſſion carried on a proceſs againſt the Queen, as well as the favourites, and the Attorney-General Uldahl was appointed to act as her advocate: It is reported, that the ſenate and the privy council had at firſt intended to proceed to the utmoſt extremities, and even to ſtrike at her life; but that ſome apprehenſion of the reſentment of another court put a ſtop to their violence. This indeed ſeems very probable, as moderation is not one of the qualities that are to be expected in a faction, which is either ſtruggling for power, or newly arrived at it: when independent of their own paſſions, acts of reſentment, and appearances even of fury, are neceſſary to keep up that fever in the people, which is requiſite for their purpoſes.

As no authoriſed nor authentic account has been publiſhed, either of the charges made againſt the Queen, or of the nature of her defence, we cannot preſume to enter upon that ſubject on the foundation of vague or ſuſpicious reports. The following queſtions are ſaid to have occaſioned great debates among the commiſſioners, Whether the Queen, as a ſovereign, could be legally tried by her ſubjects? and, Whether, as a foreign princeſs, ſhe was amenable to the laws of Denmark?

Whatever the original deſigns of the court might have been, his Britannic Majeſty ſeems, in ſome degree, to have concurred in, and probably influenced their final determinations with reſpect to that unfortunate princeſs, by his ſending a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips to convey her to Germany, and appointing the city of Zell, in his Electoral dominions, for the place of her future reſidence. Commodore Macbride having arrived in the Sound, with three Engliſh frigates, the Queen, attended by the Count de Halſtein and his lady, and the Lord Chamberlain

berlain Raben, all of her late houſehold, together with Lady Moſtyn, and the Britiſh miniſter, imbarked for Stade; where ſhe was received with great honours, May 30. and ſeveral of the Hanoverian nobility of both ſexes were waiting to attend her. The Queen has ſince formed a ſmall court, and is as agreeably circumſtanced as the nature of her ſituation will admit. [648.]

It has, perhaps, been too haſtily, and too generally received an opinion with the moſt eminent writers, and from them too careleſsly received by the world, that the northern nations have at all times, and without exception, been paſſionate admirers of liberty, and tenacious to an extreme of their rights. A little attention will ſhew, that this opinion ought to be received with many reſtrictions. Sweden and Denmark have, within little more than a century, given abſolute demonſtrations to the contrary; and the vaſt nation of the Ruſſes, who overſpread ſo great a part of the north, have at all times, ſo long as their name has been known, or their acts remembered by hiſtory, been incapable of any other than a deſpotic form of government. And, notwithſtanding the contempt in which we hold the eaſtern nations, and the ſlaviſh diſpoſition we attribute to them, it may be found, if we make a due allowance for the figurative ſtyle and manner of the orientals, that the official papers, public acts, and ſpeeches, at the courts of Peterſburg, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, are in as unmanly a ſtrain of ſervility and adulation, as thoſe of the moſt deſpotic of the Aſiatic governments.

The war which the Danes carried on with the Algerines, is terminated by a peace, as little to their advantage, as that was to their glory. They conſented to pay that piratical ſtate 50,000 Algerine ſequins, which amount to near 25,000 l. Sterling, beſides a large quantity of military and naval ſtores.

It undoubtedly will be a matter of aſtoniſhment to future ages, that at a time when the naval force and commerce of Europe, are arrived at an extent of greatneſs unknown in any other period, or part of the world, ſo many powerful ſtates, who are watchful of every opportunity of advantage to go to war with each other, ſhould ſubmit to the ignominy of paying a ſhameful tribute to the paltry neſts of pirates, who rather infeſt than inhabit the Barbary coaſts.

The fate of the French parliaments ſeems to be finally decided, and the few remains of public liberty that were preſerved in thoſe illuſtrious bodies, are now no more. The people laughed and paſquinaded, and were ſent to the Baſtile, and ſo the affair paſſed off.

The ſtand made by the princes of the blood, in behalf of their country, and in oppoſition to the arbitrary power of the crown, did them great honour; but oppoſition cannot be long-lived in a country where honours, emoluments, and even ſecurity, are wholly derived from the king, and the national vanity has made perſonal weight and importance to centre ſolely in him. The princes accordingly became tired of a fruitleſs oppoſition; and the King, who ſeemed greatly diſtreſſed by it, accepted with infinite pleaſure the overtures they made for an accommodation. In a word, if we ſeriouſly conſider the mode of ſupporting great ſtanding armies, which becomes daily more prevalent, it will appear evidently, that nothing leſs than a convulſion that will ſhake the globe to its centre, can ever reſtore the European nations to that liberty by which they were once ſo much diſtinguiſhed. The weſtern world was the ſeat of freedom, until another, more weſtern, was diſcovered; and that other will probably be its aſylum, when it is hunted down in every other part. Happy it is, that the worſt of times may have one refuge ſtill left for humanity.

Such have been, in general, the public tranſactions in Europe, during the year of which we treat. The great ſcarcity of proviſions, which has been ſo deplorably felt in many parts of it during a ſucceſſion of years, has ſtill continued; and the diſtreſſes of the poor were in many places intolerable. In Norway, and ſeveral of the Swediſh provinces, their calamities were ſo great, that they were reduced to the ſad neceſſity, of eating bread which was principally compoſed of ground bark, with a ſcanty proportion of meal. That other dreadful ſcourge of Providence, the peſtilence, has happily ceaſed in the Ruſſian dominions, after having ſwept away above 60,000 of the inhabitants. Bohemia has ſtill ſuffered a greater loſs, from ſome dreadful diſtempers, as fatal, though perhaps not ſo contagious, as the plague, and which ſeem to have been the offspring of famine.

Poſterity will be at a loſs which to admire

mire moſt, the great power of Ruſſia, or the magnificence of its Empreſs, when they are informed, that in the courſe of ſo long, ſo expenſive, and ſo widely-extended a war, her expences, whether in rewards to her generals and officers, in preſents to learned men, in the encouragement of arts, or in the purchaſe of libraries, ſtatues, pictures, antiques, and jewels, infinitely exceed thoſe of any late or preſent European prince, except Lewis XIV. Among many inſtances of this nature which might be given, a diamond of an enormous ſize, which ſhe purchaſed this year, may be ſufficient. This diamond, which weighs 779 carats, was brought, ſome years ago, by a Greek gentleman, from Iſpahan to Holland, and depoſited for ſecurity in the bank, till he could meet with a purchaſer: the greatneſs of the price would have made this difficult, if the Empreſs of Ruſſia had not exiſted. She has paid upwards of 100,000l. Sterling for it, beſides ſettling a penſion for life, of 4000 rubles, upon the gentleman, which amounts to little leſs than 1000l. Sterling a-year.

The ſubſtance of the ſpeeches of the Solicitor and Attorney General, in the Houſe of Commons, May 10. *on the reſolutions concerning Eaſt-India affairs, propoſed by Gen. Burgoyne.* [621.]

Mr Wedderburn's Speech.

Mr SPEAKER,

AS I have not troubled the Houſe at all upon this buſineſs, I now deſire the indulgence of the Houſe, to give my ſentiments upon Eaſt-India affairs in general; which I ſhall do with the greateſt readineſs, as the general deduction made by the Hon. member behind me, and the motions which he has in conſequence made, do very particularly lead to what I have to adviſe on this ſubject. The ſelect committee has ſat upon this buſineſs long, and with great attention, and the Hon. Gentleman now introduces what he has to move upon it with all the ſolemnity imaginable; with ſo much ſolemnity, that the Houſe, I believe, expected a very different catalogue of enormities, and a very different ſyſtem propoſed for the future.

We now ſee, once more, the good of ſuch committees; the ſecret committee —[*Here being put right by the members near him, ſaying it was the* ſelect *committee, he went on*] —I beg pardon —the ſecret committee of the ſelect committee, (I thought there muſt be ſomething *ſecret* in it, by the magnitude of their diſcoveries) [*Here was a violent laugh*], have in their proſecution of this affair, now brought it to a general iſſue, and all turns up a narrow, contracted, invidious attention to the conduct of individuals, inſtead of an open, liberal, and manly endeavour to bring forward ſuch regulations for the future, as ſhould prevent evils. I utterly diſapprove of this conduct, and I have diſapproved of it through the whole courſe of the buſineſs.

The Hon. Gentleman has entered into a long recapitulation of events which happened ſixteen years ago, and from them he deduces two matters of charge. Thoſe I deſire leave to examine. The one is, the dethroning and putting to death Surah al Dowla, by means of a fictitious treaty; and the other is a general officer's name being fixed to an order of aſſaſſination.

Upon the ſubject of the revolution, I ſhall obſerve, that it is a moſt narrow and illiberal idea, to ſuppoſe, that great and ſtriking events, revolutions, wars, conqueſts, and ſo forth, are to be carried through upon the direct and abſolute principles of ſchool philoſophy and morality. Such a ſuppoſition would be idle, —it would be uſeleſs. I will venture to aſſert, that a revolution of ſuch conſequence never was ſo conducted, nor ever will be. Throughout the detail which the Hon. Gentleman has given of the tranſaction, I am aſtoniſhed that we ſhould have heard not a word of the character of Surah al Dowla; not a ſyllable of the black-hole affair [xx. 77. 133.]; not a word of that vengeance, and even juſtice, which the moſt cruel, black, and horrid piece of tyranny which ſtains the annals of human nature, muſt have produced. Is this candid! Are theſe the principles to guide our inquiry, and to direct our puniſhments? I ſhould be aſhamed to be a witneſs to ſuch proceedings. The real fact is this, —A monſter of tyranny, who is an enemy, is to be dethroned; —he is dethroned by a conquering army, and put to death; this tranſaction, with a ſeries of victory and ſucceſs, are ſo rapid, that every moment was action, —every inſtant filled with great events. The Hon. Gentleman tells us, that this was the original of the oppreſſions, and of the ſucceeding revolutions. Who doubts it? This was the acquiſition from which originated

originated the great empire of the India company; theſe were the victories that gave to that company the ſplendid power of rewarding. Had it not been for that revolution, thoſe countries would never have been gained, which have been the object of the crimes complained of. What, therefore, does this Hon. member prove by this? or what uſeful fact is grounded upon it?

The Hon. Gentleman has declaimed much on the ſtain upon the Britiſh name, from the tranſactions in that revolution. I am of a very different opinion.—When our feuds and animoſities are forgotten; when our little envy and jealouſies of large fortunes are, as they ought to be, buried in oblivion,—the recording pen of a candid hiſtorian will relate theſe tranſactions as they were; and he will not fail to hold forth for the admiration of poſterity, that in a revolution which acquired to the company a dominion larger, wealthier, and more populous, than ever Athens poſſeſſed,—or than Rome itſelf, when ſhe had conquered the Italian ſtates; larger than France, and in revenues ſuperior to moſt of the powers of Europe; that in the career of ſuch conqueſts,—of ſuch great events,—ſo few actions are to be diſcovered by the moſt inquiſitive examination, (and a more prying one never was known), ſo few that reflect diſhonour on individuals,—none that tarniſh the Britiſh name.

The two inſtances before you are all that are to be found in that pile of reports on your table:—a great revolution, and a vaſt conqueſt, were made,—not in every circumſtance upon the principles of ſtrict morality. Very wonderful indeed! Let theſe perſecutors of great and eminent name tell me of a revolution that was ever brought about with leſs attendant evil: name it. I defy the whole range of hiſtory to ſhew one of equal importance, in which the actors have ſo little to anſwer for. As to the forgery of Adm. Watſon's name, it would be needleſs to analyſe it, becauſe the Noble Lord has declared, that had it been neceſſary, he actually would have done it,—and certainly done right in politics, to take that or any other means to deſtroy in an enemy ſo great a tyrant. As to the other action, of General Caſland's name ſtanding to an order of aſſaſſination, he ſolemnly declared, that he apprehended the whole was a feint of the Nabob to diſcover the ſentiments of the army; and proteſted, that had he known the uſe which was made of it, he would not have done it for a thouſand worlds; and in this he appeals to the teſtimony of the whole army and navy, and to every officer in the civil department.

Now, Sir, what are you doing? Becauſe in ſuch a revolution as hiſtory can ſcarcely parallel, ſome large fortunes have been ſuddenly made, you are to determine them to be illegal; and talk of the reſtitution of money acquired ſixteen years ago! For ſhame! What! is this to be the national gratitude for actions which have been the admiration of the whole world,—the pride of Britain,—the envy of Europe?—Upon this ſlender evidence,—upon ſuch odious inſinuations,—[*turning to Sir William Meredith*], upon ſuch contemptible motives, are we to raiſe an envious hand againſt thoſe laurels which flouriſh on the brows of men who have done ſo much? To whom does the company owe this vaſt empire? To the bravery, conduct, and unparallelled activity of men whom you would now plunder in your turn. The Hon. Gentleman aſks, where ſuch oppreſſions and tyranny are to be found as we have practiſed in Bengal? I will tell him: In the democratical tyranny of an Athenian mob, envious of every great and noble name, taking off one for his wealth, baniſhing another for his family, and a third for his fame. It is this deteſtable ſpirit which occaſioned real tyranny, and we are now following the example. Have we a greater ſtateſman or general than John Duke of Marlborough? but will any one grant that his great wealth was all acquired upon the direct line of morality? With as much reaſon might you tax his repreſentatives to refund his ill-acquired poſſeſſions.

But, Sir, the preſent motions are nugatory and ridiculous. The firſt part is, *That all acquiſitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the ſtate.* To what time does it go? to what period? at what place? and in what quarter of the world? It goes to the acquiſitions made at the Manillas, at the Havannah: how indefinite! And then—belong to the ſtate! What is the ſtate? The gentleman ſays, that he does not decide what the ſtate is, he leaves it for future diſcuſſion. But, Sir,

what

what does this mean? It is impoſſible you ſhould vote it; becauſe it decides the right of the crown to the territorial poſſeſſions, which you have already put off for ſix years, if you ſay the ſtate; or if you ſay the company is the ſtate—[*This he illuſtrated by a humourous inſtance from the Jeſuits, Janſeniſts, and Moliniſts, which ſet the Houſe in a laugh.*] But, Sir, this motion gives to the ſtate acquiſitions, which beyond all doubt do of right belong to the individual; for it makes no diſtinction, the word *under influence* is ſo unlimited.

Then, Sir, the next reſolution ſays, That acquiſitions ſo made are illegal. This means nothing more, than that the poſſeſſion of another's property is illegal. — Did we want a committee to tell us this? If one man has the property belonging to another, it is illegal; and that other perſon ſhould apply, not to parliament, but to the courts. We are further told of retribution of theſe poſſeſſions; which certainly ought to be to the perſons injured, and not the ſtate. But, Sir, the whole is a hodge-podge of contradiction and confuſion, and too indefined and unlimited to be poſſible to paſs this Houſe. It reverſes your former reſolutions; it is founded on envy, and illiberal principles; it is narrow, pointed at individuals; and neglects future reformation, which ought to be the only object; and above all, there is an indeciſion and want of evidence in your reports, that muſt render every thing you do arbitrary and illegal. In conſequence of this, Sir, I move the order of the day.

Mr Thurloe's ſpeech.

Mr Speaker,

I Cannot agree to the principles laid down with ſo much ingenuity by the Hon. and learned gentleman who ſpoke laſt. — The great ſtreſs that has been laid on the neceſſity of actions paſſing in revolutions, which are not amenable to the ſtrict line of morality, is very true in general, but nothing applicable to the preſent caſe. I do admit, Sir, that the motions before us might have been ſo worded as to have eſcaped ſome of the objections which have been thrown out againſt them: but, Sir, let us be enlarged and liberal in our way of thinking; let us look rather at the ſpirit of the motion, — at the general deſign of it, more than technical inaccuracies. For, Sir, if we reject theſe reſolutions upon the foundation of the reaſons we have heard, what ſhall we do, but abſolutely reject the means of laying down effectually thoſe regulations for the future which are admitted to be ſo neceſſary? How can we better begin that work, than by reſolving, that the acquiſitions here deſcribed are illegal? And how unjuſt, nugatory, and ridiculous, would it be, to come to ſuch a determination, without taking a retroſpective view, and enforcing future regulations by preſent vigour, by preſent juſtice? Revolutions are not brought about without ſome ill actions, and ſudden fortunes: — we admit it; and certainly the honour and juſtice of this Houſe will never carry theſe reſolutions of retribution which are to follow theſe revolutions, into execution, againſt men who in both or either of thoſe lines have done no more than what might be generally expected, from the ſituation and ſtate of affairs: conſequently, no man whoſe actions have been tolerably well founded, need have any thing to fear; and as to thoſe whoſe actions have not been ſo well founded, ſurely no member of this Houſe will riſe in their defence.

The evils complained of are in a line different from what the Hon. and learned member has adverted to. I do admit, that in the heat and hurry of conqueſt, — in the midſt of rapid actions, — in the moment of revolution, — that theſe are not the times that ſhould be examined too critically by the rules of ſchool-philoſophy, and the morality of the cloſet: but, Sir, the evils are of another complexion; cool, deliberate tranſactions, treaties, negotiations, wars or no wars — the event the ſame in all — one general ſcene of rapine and plunder; Nabobs dethroned, — Nabobs elected, — treaties made with thoſe children of power, — theſe ephemera of a moment, — not for the advantage of the company, but for private profit. Did John Duke of Marlborough make treaties with foreign powers, ſtipulating that himſelf, Prince Eugene, and the Grand Penſionary, ſhould be paid ſo and ſo? To what purpoſe produce caſes, if they are not caſes in point?

So far have the evils not ariſen only from the heat of revolutions, that the oppreſſions under which Bengal has ſuffered, have been as ſevere in the time of peace as in that of war. — Can this be right?

right? And if wrong, why not inquire into it? — And why inquire into it, if, when your inquiry is finiſhed, it is to produce nothing? No mode of conduct can be ſo weak as that which only points out crimes, but takes no meaſure to puniſh them.

I am much ſurpriſed that the reſolutions before us can meet with any oppoſition. They declare nothing that can be offenſive upon any moderate or legal principles. For can any man doubt, but that acquiſitions made by arms, or treaty, by individuals, are illegal? The ſoldier is to receive his pay, and the rewards which his employers confer upon him: he is not, by the influence of his power, to ſeize wealth to himſelf; nor is the ſtateſman to think of his own intereſt in his treaties. How can gentlemen heſitate to give their aſſent to ſuch plain and ſelf-evident propoſitions? And if, contrary to ſuch plain principles, individuals have outrageouſly offended, who can doubt of the neceſſity of paſſing reſolutions which lead to retribution? And who can therefore think, that all who think thus moderately and coolly, muſt be envious of the great fortunes ſo quickly made?

We have been told, that never revolution, — never conqueſt, has been made with ſo few bad actions, or ſo few ill conſequences. I cannot admit this, if taken in the only light we ought to view it in; for I am of opinion no country ever conquered felt more heavily the weight of conqueſt. And let me aſk any man, to what, but the rapacity of the company's ſervants, is it owing, that Bengal, under its own government ſo flouriſhing, ſhould, under ours, be brought to the brink of ruin? Let gentlemen look to this great contraſt; — let them conſider this, and reflect within themſelves, whether it is not highly neceſſary that ſomething retroſpective ſhould be done? When we are told of the depopulation of that country from plague, peſtilence, and famine, and owing to thoſe oppreſſions complained of; when men have gone over, and without the merit of great actions, or even moderate abilities, have come quickly home, loaded with the ſpoils of that miſerable country; — when by ſuch practices, the very being and poſſeſſion of thoſe territories have been endangered, — ſhall we be told, that ſuch events are the neceſſary conſequences of revolutions and wars, and that the actors ought to be held harmleſs? I am no enemy to particulars; — I am perfectly free from envy at their great fortunes; — but I am a friend to regulations in future; and therefore, to make them effectual, I am for the reſolutions before us.

The Lords Proteſt, June 19. againſt paſſing the Eaſt-India regulating bill. [624.]

DISSENTIENT,

BEcauſe the preamble to this bill, ſtating defects in the powers of the Eaſt-India company, abuſes in its adminiſtration, and injuries to public and commercial credit, ought to have been ſupported by evidence adapted to the nature of the ſeveral matters alledged. But the production of charters has been refuſed by the Houſe; no witneſſes have been called to aſcertain the exiſtence or quality of the ſuppoſed abuſes; no inquiry has been made into the condition of public credit; and no ſtate of the company's commercial affairs have ever been laid before us.

2. Becauſe, if the defects in the charters, and abuſes in the adminiſtration of the company, exiſt in the manner ſtated in the preamble, no effectual proviſion is made in the enacting part of the bill, for ſupplying the one, or reforming the other: on the contrary, the utmoſt diſtraction is introduced into the whole œconomy of their affairs. The nomination to the ſubordinate preſidencies and inferior offices in India, is left to the company; but a ſuperior preſidency is appointed by parliament to govern thoſe inferior officers. The ſuperior preſidency is to receive orders from the court of directors; but it is left to the private will of the King how far theſe orders ſhall be obeyed. The preſidency is appointed to make ordinances and regulations, but neither directors or company are to determine on their validity. The King alone is to allow or diſallow thoſe acts, as he ſhall chuſe to ſignify his pleaſure under his ſign-manual. This mode of veſting ultimately the whole management of the company's weighty political affairs, their vaſt revenues, and their extenſive commerce, in the King's private direction, without any proviſion in the bill for the intervention of any public body, (either the Eaſt-India company or the privy council), or any reſponſible public miniſter, is, we inſiſt, not only an high and dangerous violation of the yet unqueſtioned charters of the company, but

but a total ſubverſion of all the principles of the law and conſtitution of this kingdom.

3. Becauſe the election of executive officers in parliament, is plainly unconſtitutional, and an example of the moſt pernicious kind, productive of intrigue and faction, and calculated for extending a corrupt influence in the crown. It frees miniſters from reſponſibility, whilſt it leaves them all the effect of patronage. It defeats the wiſe deſign of the conſtitution, which placed the nomination of all officers, either immediately or derivatively, in the crown, whilſt it committed the check upon improper nominations to parliament. But this bill, by confounding thoſe powers which the conſtitution meant to keep ſeparate, has deſtroyed this controul, along with every wiſe proviſion of the laws to prevent the abuſes in the nomination to or exerciſe of office.

4. Becauſe this uſurpation of the company's rights in appointing the ſervants, is loaded with the additional injuſtice of a compulſory payment of ſalaries, arbitrarily fixed, and chargeable on the company's revenues, without their conſent.

5. Becauſe the violation of the charter is not juſtified by the importance of the proviſions of this bill, which operates only to transfer patronage without conferring new powers, it being expreſsly provided by the bill, that theſe powers ſhould be the ſame as were formerly exerciſed by the company's ſervants, under the company's authority; neither is any advantage gained with regard to the particular officers named in this bill, the perſon firſt in rank and importance in the new parliamentary preſidency, being the very ſame now at the head of the company's preſidency in Bengal. We mean to reflect neither upon that gentleman, nor any other, who (for any thing we know to the contrary) may be men of competent ability and good character; but we think ourſelves bound to declare againſt the manifeſt contradiction and abſurdity of this bill, which, ſtating abuſes as now exiſting in India, for the ground of its regulations, yet appoints the very perſons to preſide there, who, if the allegations in the bill be true, muſt be concerned, either by neglect, or actual commiſſion, in all the abuſes complained of.

6. Becauſe the appointing judges by the nomination of the crown, with large ſalaries payable out of the company's revenue, without the company's conſent either to the appointment or the payment, is an act of flagrant injuſtice, and an outrage on all the rights of property. No neceſſity can be pleaded in favour of this violence, as the company did laſt year voluntarily propoſe a nomination of judges, with far better proviſions for ſecuring a proper appointment, than any contained in this bill.

7. Becauſe the clauſe of this bill which deprives of all ſhare in the management of their own property, all proprietors not poſſeſſed of 1000 l. capital ſtock, diſfranchiſing, without the aſſignment of any delinquency or abuſe, no leſs than 1246 perſons legally qualified, is an heinous act of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and abſurdity, and a groſs perverſion of the high powers intruſted to legiſlature. The part of the charter which regulates the right of voting, was made to eſtabliſh excluſively that claſs of voters which this act has deſtroyed: the charter knows of no right of voting, but the poſſeſſion of 500 l. capital ſtock; it excludes all title to ſuperior influence from ſuperior property; the ſeveral laws to prevent the ſplitting of ſtock are all in affirmance of this principle, and made to ſecure this voter: but by a ſyſtem of contradiction, that, except in this bill, has no example, the very grievance of ſplitting of ſtock, by which the proprietor under 1000 l. has been injured, is aſſigned as the ſole ground for depriving him of his franchiſe. This lower proprietor could not poſſibly have been guilty of this offence, and yet he is puniſhed; and the large ſtockholder, who alone could be guilty of the ſplitting, is indulged with new privileges, in contradiction to the ſpirit of that charter which he is ſuppoſed to have violated.

8. Becauſe the great principle upon which the bill has been ſupported, will, not only in this, but in all caſes, juſtify every infringement of the national faith, and render parliamentary ſanction the worſt of all ſecurities. We never can admit, that a mere ſpeculation of political improvement can juſtify parliament in taking away rights, which it expreſsly covenanted to preſerve, eſpecially when it has received a valuable conſideration for the franchiſes ſo ſtipulated. Nor are grants of parliament under theſe circumſtances to be conſidered as gratuitous, reſumable merely at the pleaſure of the giver; but matters of binding contract, forfeitable

forfeitable only on ſuch delinquency or neceſſity as is implied in the nature of every other bargain. With ſuch matters before us that require the beſt, we are denied all manner of information. A bill, the object of which has taken the Commons near eight months to conſider, is precipitated through this Houſe in little more than eight days, without any attention to parliamentary uſage or decorum; as if the Lords were the loweſt of miniſterial tools, who are not to be indulged even with an appearance of diſcuſſion, concerning the mandates they receive.

In this ſituation we feel the honour of the Peerage tarniſhed, and its dignity degraded. If the proviſions and precedent of this bill ſhould render the public faith of Great Britain of no eſtimation, the franchiſes, rights, and properties, of Engliſhmen precarious, and the Peerage diſtinguiſhable only by a more than common meaſure of indolence and ſervility; if the boundleſs fund of corruption furniſhed by this bill to the ſervants of the crown, ſhould efface every idea of honour, public ſpirit, and independence, from every rank of people; after ſtruggling vainly againſt theſe evils, we have nothing left but the ſatisfaction of recording our names to poſterity, as thoſe who reſiſted the whole of this iniquitous ſyſtem, and as men who had no ſhare in betraying to blind prejudices or ſordid intereſt every thing that has hitherto been held ſacred in this country.

Abingdon. *Ponſonby.* *Richmond.*
Torrington. *Portland.* *Archer.*
Boyle. *King.* *Rockingham.*
Groſvenor. *Milton.* *Fitzwilliam.*
Devonſhire.

The number of proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock; — 1. of thoſe poſſeſſing 1000 l. ſtock and upwards; — 2. of thoſe poſſeſſing 500 l. ſtock and upwards, not amounting to 1000 l. —— as they ſtood in the company's books, March 4. 1773.

	Propr.	*Stock.*
1. 1000 l. ſtock,		
Engliſh, -	487	L. 1,018,398 19 11
Foreign, -	325	890,940 17 0
	812	L. 1,909,339 16 11
2. 500 l. ſtock,		
Engliſh, -	1246	L. 634,464 1 8
Foreign, -	95	50,226 0 0
	1341	L. 684,690 1 8

A deſcription of the battle of Plaſſey.

From Ives's voyage to India.

WHen the army was within two days march of Muxadabad, Col. Clive received ſome diſagreeable advices from Meer Jaffier, which he immediately laid before a council of war ſummoned upon the occaſion, the majority of whoſe members were of the Colonel's opinion, that he ought not to advance any farther. He therefore halted where he was, and ſent an expreſs to Calcutta, deſiring freſh orders. However, the ſame evening Col. Clive received a ſecond meſſage from Meer Jaffier, aſſuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was ſo ſurrounded with ſpies, as to be obliged to act with the greateſt caution. This intelligence ſoon determined the Colonel to puſh on; and that very night, without waiting for any inſtructions from Calcutta, he gave orders for the army to hold themſelves in readineſs to march the next morning; when, leaving a ſub-altern officer with all the ſick at Cutwah, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almoſt to the ſoldiers middles; the rainy ſeaſon being now ſet in. At ſix o'clock in the morning the army croſſed the river, and marched about two miles farther, to a large tope (or grove), where they halted till the evening. About four the next morning, the whole army reached Plaſſey Grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the Colonel, on his arrival at the Grove, that the Nabob's vanguard, conſiſting of 6000 men, was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advance-guard of 200 Europeans, and 300 Seapoys, with two pieces of cannon, to poſt themſelves at Plaſſey-houſe; and ſeveral guards of Seapoys, at proper diſtances from each other, round the Grove.

At day-break of the 23d, the Nabob's army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the Grove, which we were in poſſeſſion of. Their intention ſeemed to be to ſurround us. The Colonel hereupon formed his army: the Europeans he told off in four diviſions; the firſt he put under the command of Major Kilpatrick, the ſecond under Major Grant, the third under Major Coote, and the fourth under Capt. Gaupp. The Seapoys were formed on the right and

left. Plaſſey Grove is ſurrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by Plaſſey houſe and river, and the right flank by the Grove.

The enemy's army kept marching towards ours in deep columns, ſupported by a large train of artillery, conſiſting of fifty-three pieces of cannon, chiefly of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders. The manœuvres upon this occaſion differed materially from thoſe they had been accuſtomed to: for inſtead of poſting their artillery all together, as was their uſual practice, they diſperſed them between the diviſions of their troops, and had not above two or three pieces of cannon on a ſpot; ſo that an attack upon any one part of their artillery could not have been deciſive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; but as ſoon as their rear was gotten out of the camp, failing in their plan to ſurround us, they halted; and a body of about fifty French advancing in front of a large detachment of their army, commanded by Meer Modun, one of their principal generals, with four pieces of cannon, lodged themſelves within the banks of a tank, (or pond of water), diſtant from us about 600 yards, and began a briſk cannonade.

Our little army was at firſt drawn up without the bank which ſurrounded the Grove; but ſoon found ſuch a ſhower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the Colonel thought proper they ſhould retire under cover of the bank, leaving two field pieces without, while the other four were kept playing through the breaches in the bank. Our left wing was ſtill covered by Plaſſey-houſe, which was about fifty yards diſtant, and cloſe to the river-ſide.

In this ſituation both armies remained till about twelve o'clock; when a heavy ſhower of rain falling, the enemy's horſe advanced, as if to take advantage of it: but when they found that our field-pieces continued firing, notwithſtanding the rain, their ardor was checked. The rain ceaſing, the cannonading continued till about three in the afternoon, when they retired without confuſion to their old camp, their artillery marching firſt. And now a large corps, on the left of our troops, was ſeen moving in ſuch a manner, as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to poſſeſs themſelves of the village to the left, againſt us, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join our army; but they proved afterwards to be friends, under Meer Jaffier's command: however, as no ſignal had been agreed on, (owing to the miſcarriage of a meſſenger which he had diſpatched to the Colonel in the morning), they were kept at a diſtance by our field-pieces. After this retreat of the enemy, Col. Clive, leaving orders with Major Kilpatrick to ſend him notice if the Nabob ſhould make any new motions, went into Plaſſey-houſe to put on dry cloaths, and conſider, whether, notwithſtanding the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he ſhould purſue the blow, by an immediate attack upon the Nabob's camp, or defer it till night, when he judged from paſt experience the ſucceſs would be certain.

During this interval, information was brought to the Colonel, that a detachment of our army, with ſome field-pieces, was marching towards the before-mentioned tank and eminence, at about the diſtance of 600 yards, which had been poſſeſſed by the French, but who abandoned it when the army of Serajah Dowla retired to their camp. Col. Clive expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that ſuch a ſtep ſhould have been taken without his orders; and immediately haſtened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the ſame time it arrived at the tank. He now found, that this detachment was commanded by Major Kilpatrick; whom he at firſt ordered under arreſt, for ſuch unmilitary conduct; but was pacified by the Major's making him an apology.

The Colonel then ordered Major Kilpatrick back to the Grove, and took the command of the detachment himſelf; reſolving, ſince ſuch a ſtep had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a ſecond action, and make it deciſive. He therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the Grove; upon which Major Coote with his detachment joined the Colonel. The Colonel then ſent the King's grenadiers, and a grenadier company of Seapoys, to lodge themſelves behind a bank that was cloſe upon the enemy's lines; from whence they kept a continual fire with their ſmall arms; as did the detachment at the tank, with four pieces of cannon.

In the mean time the enemy's infantry and cavalry puſhed out towards our ſeveral little bodies of troops, and endeavoured

voured to bring their heavy artillery to bear; but they met with ſo warm a reception, and loſt ſo many draught-oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for ſome time, and ſtood a very ſmart cannonading, in which they loſt a great number of men and horſes, it was obſerved they were in ſome confuſion, and that their elephants grew very unruly. The Colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and ſent orders to Major Coote to attack a large body of horſe and foot upon a riſing ground at about the diſtance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the ſame time to ſtorm the angle of the camp. Both theſe attacks ſucceeded, the enemy making but a faint reſiſtance; Major Coote marched into their lines, and a general rout enſued. The aſſailants purſued till it was dark, and then halted at Doudpore, a place about ſix miles diſtance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the reſt of the army from Plaſſey Grove, under Major Kilpatrick, who, at the commencement of the rout received orders from the Colonel to march. The Nabob's army was computed to conſiſt of 20,000 horſe, and 40,000 foot: our loſs was very inconſiderable; but he had about 500 men killed, among whom was Meer Modun, (whoſe death was the occaſion of the confuſion juſt mentioned), beſides three elephants, and a great many horſes. Their fifty-three pieces of cannon, of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders, fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage, elephants, &c. &c.

I have been more minute in the deſcription of this battle of Plaſſey than was Mr Scrafton, becauſe ſome perſons have taken pains to miſrepreſent it, with a view to tarniſh the glory of Col. Clive on that important victory; pretending that their accounts were taken verbatim from Sir Eyre Coote's Journal, as read by him in the ſelect committee of the Houſe of Commons, which ſat the preceding ſeſſions on Eaſt-India affairs. Having therefore been lately favoured with the peruſal of Sir Eyre Coote's journal, I can aver, that the ſeveral publications alluded to [xxxiv. 413.] are totally devoid of truth; and the public may be aſſured, that the deſcription here given of the battle correſponds in every material particular with that journal. Sir Eyre Coote himſelf alſo, in a late converſation with me, declared, "that the publications before mentioned were abſolutely falſe; that any perſon might be convinced thereof, by appealing to the minutes of the committee of the Houſe of Commons, where what was delivered by him on his examination was committed to paper." He alſo authoriſed me publicly to declare, "that he has on all occaſions been ever ready to do juſtice to Lord Clive's merit." [xxxiv. 469.]

Tranſlation of a treaty between the King of Pruſſia, and the King and Republic of Poland.

In the name of the HOLY TRINITY.

BE it known to whomſoever it may concern, That his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia having cauſed a declaration to be made to the King and Republic of Poland, by a memorial preſented at Warſaw in the month of September 1772, wherein it was ſet forth, That his Majeſty thought himſelf fully authoriſed, and was reſolved, to renew his claims and pretenſions to Poliſh Pomerania, as well as other diſtricts of Poland; and an agreement having been entered into, between his Majeſty, the Empreſs Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia, [who found themſelves in a ſimilar ſituation reſpecting certain claims to the kingdom of Poland], in conſequence of which, his Majeſty did at the ſame time take poſſeſſion of Pruſſian and Poliſh Pomerania, and the diſtricts on the borders of the Netze; and the King and Republic of Poland having, on the other hand, ſtrongly proteſted againſt the ſeizure and poſſeſſion of the aforementioned provinces; in conſequence of which, differences and conteſts have ariſen between the two ſtates, to the interruption of that tranquillity and good harmony which ſhould reciprocally prevail: To prevent therefore the dangerous conſequences reſulting from ſuch miſunderſtandings, both parties have agreed to hold conferences of pacification at an extraordinary diet to be held for that purpoſe at Warſaw, agreeable to the requeſt of the three allied courts, and to endeavour at a ſpeedy accommodation of all matters in diſpute, by plenipotentiaries and commiſſaries appointed and authoriſed on both ſides. For this purpoſe his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia has inveſted with a plenitude of power the Sieur Gedeon de Benoit, his ſpecial Counſellor of Embaſſy, and his Miniſter to the

Court of Poland, &c.; and the King and Republic of Poland have for the ſame purpoſe authoriſed and appointed their plenipotentiaries, and have given full power to the ſenate thus ſpecially aſſembled, conſiſting of ninety-eight Biſhops, Senators, Palatines, and Caſtellans of the ſeveral different orders of the Republic; which commiſſaries and plenipotentiaries ſo authoriſed, after a mutual exchange of their reſpective credentials, and holding many conferences, have at laſt agreed to the following articles.

I. It is hereby agreed, and made perpetual, That from henceforth an inviolable peace, a ſincere union, and the moſt cordial friendſhip, ſhall be concluded, and ſubſiſt for ever, between his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, his heirs, ſucceſſors, and all his eſtates, on the one part; and his Majeſty the King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, and his ſucceſſors, as alſo the kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, on the other part, after this manner: That from henceforth the two high contracting parties ſhall neither themſelves commit, nor ſuffer to be committed by their ſubjects, any acts of hoſtility, directly or indirectly, againſt each other; they ſhall not make themſelves, nor ſuffer others to make, any arrangement contrary to the preſent treaty; but they ſhall, with the moſt religious exactneſs, faithfully obſerve it in every point; conſtantly endeavouring to maintain one common intereſt, mutually ſtriving to preſerve the honour, advantage, and ſecurity of each other inviolate, and labouring to avert the one from the other every thing injurious to either of their intereſts.

II. To obviate any diſputes that may ariſe hereafter, and effectually put an end to all pretenſions, of whatever nature, his Majeſty the King of Poland, as well for himſelf as his ſucceſſors, and the ſeveral orders and eſtates of the kingdom of Poland, and grand duchy of Lithuania, doth, by the preſent treaty, irrevocably and for ever, without any reſource or imaginable reſervation, cede to his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as well male as female, thoſe provinces, palatinates, and diſtricts, which his Pruſſian Majeſty had before taken poſſeſſion of and occupied, by virtue of his letters-patent, bearing date 13th September 1772, as a full equivalent for his claims therein ſpecified, viz. All Pomerelia; the town of Dantzic, with its diſtricts, excepted; as likewiſe the diſtrict of Great Poland on this ſide of the Netze, along that river from the frontiers of the New Marche, as far as the Viſtula near to Vordonn and Solitz, in ſuch a manner as that the Netze ſhall be the boundary of his Pruſſian Majeſty's eſtates, which river ſhall belong excluſively to him; and his Pruſſian Majeſty, waving his claims to many other diſtricts of Poland adjacent to Sileſia and Pruſſia, (which nevertheleſs he could urge with the greateſt juſtice), and likewiſe giving up all claims upon the town of Dantzic, and the diſtricts thereunto belonging, is ſatisfied that the King and Republic of Poland ſhould cede to him as an equivalent, the reſt of the territory called Poliſh Pruſſia; that is to ſay, the palatinate of Marienbourg, the town of Elbing, with the biſhopric of Varmil, and the palatinate of Culm; the town of Thorn only excepted, which, with all its ſuperiorities, ſhall be preſerved to Poland; his Majeſty the King of Poland, the ſeveral orders and eſtates of the kingdom of Poland, and the grand duchy of Lithuania, ceding to his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all thoſe territories before mentioned, together with all their proprieties, ſovereignties, and independencies, and all the towns, fortreſſes, and villages, the vaſſals, ſubjects, and inhabitants, all of whom his Poliſh Majeſty now abſolves from all homage, and the oaths of fidelity they had taken to his Majeſty and the crown of Poland, with all their rights, civil, political, and ſpiritual; and in one word, all that appertains to the ſovereignty of theſe countries; the inhabitants hereby engaging never to form, under any pretext whatſoever, the ſmalleſt pretenſions to the provinces thus ceded by the preſent treaty. Commiſſaries ſhall be forthwith nominated and appointed on the one part and the other, to adjuſt, in the moſt exact manner, the limits of thoſe provinces which his Moſt Serene Majeſty the King and Republic of Poland thus cede to his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia; and thoſe commiſſaries ſhall prepare accurate charts for delineating the boundaries.

III. His Majeſty the King of Poland, and the eſtates of Poland and Lithuania, equally renounce, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt formal manner, every pretenſion they could have advanced, either now or hereafter, to any of the provinces hitherto poſſeſſed by the Serene Houſe of Pruſ-

ſia

ſia and Brandenburg. Without intending to derogate from this general renunciation, they hereby renounce, expreſsly and nominally, the reverſion of the kingdom and fief of Pruſſia, which was ſtipulated in favour of the crown of Poland, in the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at Velau, the 19th of September 1657, and in caſe the male deſcendents of the Elector Frederick William of Bandenburg ſhould fail, it is agreed and conſented, that his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as well male as female, ſhall freely poſſeſs the kingdom of Pruſſia for ever, with all its ſovereignties and independencies, ſo that the crown of Poland neither can nor ſhall ever lay claim to the reverſion or feudal obligation, nor ſet up any other title, pretext, or claim: and to deſtroy the poſſibility of future diſputes ariſing from the articles of the treaty of Velau, [which articles quadrate not with the preſent ſtate of things], the two high contracting parties aboliſh, by the preſent treaty, the articles 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. and 21. of the above-mentioned treaty of Velau, concluded in the year 1657; retaining, nevertheleſs, the force and virtue of thoſe other articles of the ſaid treaty, which are not hereby expreſsly abrogated.

IV. The King and Eſtates of Poland and Lithuania equally deſiſt from, and renounce, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt forcible manner poſſible, all feudal right of reverſion, and, in general, all other rights and pretenſions which could have been heretofore, can now, or may in future be advanced to the diſtricts of Lauenburg and Butow. They reſign all their rights over theſe diſtricts to his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, and conſent that his ſaid Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as well male as female, ſhall poſſeſs theſe diſtricts for ever, with all their ſovereignties and independencies, without any reverſion or feudal obligation. And to obviate any diſputes on this account, both the high contracting parties equally aboliſh the convention-treaty of Bydgoſt, concluded the 6th of November 1657; and it is hereby rendered equally null and void, as if it had never ſubſiſted; the ſtipulation excepted, which ſecures to the houſe of Brandenburg the poſſeſſion of the diſtricts of Lauenburg and Butow; nor is the Serene Houſe to be ſubject to thoſe other ſtipulations and reſtrictions contained in the treaty of Bydgoſt.

V. The King and Eſtates of Poland and Lithuania deſiſt, as well nominally as expreſsly, from laying any claim to the right of repurchaſing the territory of Draheim, founded by the treaty of Bydgoſt, 6th November 1657. They give up to his Pruſſian Majeſty every right over this diſtrict which they could or can lay claim to; and they hereby conſent, that his Pruſſian Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, as well male as female, ſhould freely poſſeſs the aforeſaid diſtrict, irrevocably and for ever, together with all the propriety and ſovereignty thereunto belonging. So that the crown of Poland neither ſhall nor will, at any time hereafter, ſet up any pretenſion to recover the reverſion under any denomination whatſoever.

VI. In conſideration of theſe arrangements, and in exchange for ſuch ceſſions as the King and Republic of Poland make by this treaty to his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, his Pruſſian Majeſty renounces, in behalf of himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, as well male as female, in the ſtrongeſt manner, and moſt perfect form, all and every pretenſion which he or they might have had, or now have, to the ſovereignty of Poland, and the grand duchy of Lithuania, under any title whatſoever. His Pruſſian Majeſty alſo undertakes to guarantee thoſe provinces which ſhall remain to the republic of Poland after the concluſion of the preſent treaty, and engages always to ſecure them to the utmoſt of his power; except in any wars that may ariſe between the Republic of Poland and the Ottomah Porte.

In like manner the King and Republic of Poland ſhall guarantee to the King of Pruſſia, and his ſucceſſors, all thoſe provinces his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhall poſſeſs at the concluſion of this treaty: previous to the ratification of which, it ſhall be agreed, however, that there ſhall be an exception made againſt a power in oppoſition, to which the republic, on its part, ſhall not be obliged to maintain a war.

VII. During the late troubles with which the kingdom of Poland was haraſſed, and at the commencement of the war between the empire of Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte, a manifeſto was publiſhed, in which the infraction of the treaty of Carlowitz was imputed to the Republic of Poland, from whence aroſe ſuſpicions and diſtruſts, as well reſpecting the efficacy of this peace, as the ultimate

timate views of the Porte. With regard to the Republic of Poland, his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia promiſes and engages his royal word, to act in concert with the two Imperial courts, to defeat any hoſtile views the Porte may have conceived againſt the Republic, on account of the aforeſaid imputation, and to obtain, by the mediation of his good offices, that the Ottoman Porte ſhall conform to the terms of the pacific treaty of Carlowitz, now ſubſiſting in full force, and never having been infringed.

VIII. The Roman Catholics ſhall enjoy, in the ceded provinces, by this preſent treaty, (as well in the kingdom of Pruſſia as in the diſtricts of Lauenburg, Butow, and Draheim), all their poſſeſſions and proprieties, as well civil as religious, which ſhall be ſecured to them, and remain in their former ſituation; that is to ſay, they ſhall enjoy the ſame free exerciſe of worſhip and diſcipline, with all and each of their churches and eccleſiaſtical eſtates that they poſſeſſed at the moment they became the ſubjects of his Pruſſian Majeſty, in the month of September 1772; and neither his ſaid Majeſty, nor his ſucceſſors, ſhall exerciſe the right of ſovereignty to the prejudice of that ſtate, in which the Roman-Catholic religion is eſtabliſhed in the aforementioned provinces.

IX. His Pruſſian Majeſty having declared himſelf deſirous, by the mediation of his good offices, to contribute to re-eſtabliſh peace and good order throughout Poland, upon a ſolid and permanent foundation, hereby engages to guarantee all and ſuch regulations as may be eſtabliſhed by the miniſters of the three contracting powers in the diet now aſſembled at Warſaw, under the ſanction of the confederacy, as well reſpecting the form of the free republican and independent government, as reſpecting the peace and condition of the ſubjects profeſſing the Greek Oriental religion not united, and the diſſidents of the two evangelic communities; and, for this purpoſe, a ſeparate act ſhall be drawn up, containing the ſaid regulations, which ſhall be ſigned by the reſpective miniſters and commiſſaries, as making a part of the preſent treaty; and ſuch act ſhall have the ſame force and efficacy, as if it was inſerted word for word herein.

X. Every thing arranged and ſtipulated in theſe treaties and ſeparate conventions taking place hereafter, as well reſpecting the commerce of the two nations, and all that bears relation thereto, ſhall have the ſame force and virtue as if inſerted word for word in this treaty.

XI. It being impoſſible for this treaty to comprehend every thing appertaining to the proſperity and advantage of both eſtates, another ſeparate act ſhall be drawn up, in which ſhall be inſerted whatever it may be found proper to ſtipulate and grant in behalf of either party, or whatever may be ſtipulated and granted hereafter; and ſuch act ſhall likewiſe be of equal force and validity, as if it conſtituted part of this treaty.

XII. All that can now be adjuſted reſpecting the town of Dantzick, by the commiſſaries of the two allied courts of Pruſſia and Ruſſia on the one part, and by the deputies of the ſenate of the ſaid town on the other, ſhall have the ſame force and virtue, as if inſerted, word for word, in the preſent treaty. If the two high courts above mentioned ſhall think fit to make any regulations reſpecting the town of Thorn, they alſo ſhall be of equal force and virtue, as if they had been inſerted in the preſent treaty.

XIII. The two high contracting parties declare, that in caſe the reſpective commiſſaries (who are to be nominated immediately) diſagree about the explication of the ſecond article contained in this treaty, they ſhall report the matter, and it ſhall be ſubmitted to the mediation of the two other contracting courts; and in the interim the proceedings of the commiſſaries appointed to mark out the boundaries ſhall ſtop; and if there ſhould ariſe in future other diſputes between the two ſtates, or their ſubjects, on account of any difficulty in aſcertaining the limits, in ſuch caſe commiſſioners ſhall be nominated in behalf of both parties, and they ſhall uſe their efforts to adjuſt the differences in an amicable manner.

XIV. Although this treaty has been compoſed in the French language, it ſhall not be adopted in time to come as a precedent prejudicial to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed in this reſpect by the high contracting parties.

XV. The troops of his Pruſſian Majeſty are to evacuate Poland fifteen days after the ratification of this treaty.

XVI. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified by his Pruſſian Majeſty on the one part, and by his Majeſty the King of Poland, and the deputies of the Republic of Poland, in diet aſſembled, on the other,

ther, in the ſpace of ſix weeks, reckoning from the day on which this treaty is ſigned, or ſooner if poſſible; and it ſhall be immediately inſerted in the records of the preſent diet. The two high contracting parties likewiſe will not fail to procure the guarantee of their Majeſties the Empreſs Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Empreſs of Ruſſia.

In teſtimony of which, we the plenipotentiaries and commiſſaries eſpecially deputed and authoriſed for the ratification of this treaty, have affixed to theſe preſents our ſeals and ſignatures.

GEDEON BENOIT,
In behalf of his Pruſſian Majeſty,
AND
The deputies of the ſenate, in
L. S. behalf of the King and Republic of Poland.

Concluded at Warſaw, Sept. 18. 1773.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Jan.* 24. 1774.

HAD the writer of the anecdote in your July Magazine [353.]* been pleaſed to inform the public, to what author he was indebted for that curious anecdote, we would then have been better able to judge what degree of credit was due to it. For though it will be acknowledged by every impartial and unprejudiced mind, that many great men of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion have been diſtinguiſhed for humanity and forgiveneſs, and have held in abhorrence the baſe arts of aſſaſſination too prevalent in that age; yet I never expected to have found the famous *Duke of Guiſe* celebrated for theſe virtues.

That he, in concert with the *Queen-Mother*, formed the Plan of the *Pariſian maſſacre*, is aſſerted, not only by the Proteſtant writers, but many other authors of firſt rank, diſtinguiſhed for candour and impartiality, ſuch as Thuanus, Perefixe, Matthieu, Voltaire, &c. Every one in the ſmalleſt degree acquainted with the hiſtory of that period, knows, that the maſſacre of Paris began with the murder of the famous *Admiral Coligny*. The ſignal for the maſſacre (ſays Thuanus) was the ringing of the bell of St Germain's l' Auxerrois to matins, a little before day-light, on the 24th of Auguſt 1572; which that year happened on Sunday, and was St Bartholomew's day. Immediately the *Duke of Guiſe*, accompanied with the Dukes of Aumale and Angouleſme, repaired to the houſe where *Coligny* lodged, the gates of which they ordered to be opened in the King's name; and the keeper, ſuſpecting no harm, inſtantly obeyed. *Beſme*, a domeſtic of the *Duke of Guiſe*, broke open the door of the Admiral's chamber, and aſked him, if he was Admiral *Coligny?* to which he anſwered, with a modeſt, undaunted countenance, *I am he:* on which Beſmé immediately plunged his ſword into his breaſt, afterwards gave him ſeveral cuts in the face, which quite diſfigured him, and then with many repeated ſtrokes laid him breathleſs at his feet. The *Duke of Guiſe*, who waited in the court below, cried out, Is the work done? Beſmé anſwered, Yes. On which the Duke commanded him to caſt the dead body out at the window into the court; where the Duke and his companions, not content with feaſting their eyes with ſo horrid a ſpectacle, treated the Admiral's body with marks of the utmoſt barbarity and ſavage exultation. Many (ſays Perefixe, a Popiſh writer) called him opprobrious names, and inſulted him, when dead, who when alive durſt not look him in the face, nay trembled at the ſight of him. His head (ſays Thuanus) was immediately cut off, and ſent to Rome; his body, after cutting off the legs and arms, was dragged through the ſtreets of Paris, then caſt out into the Seine; but immediately after taken up again, and hung by the feet with an iron chain to the gallows of Montfaucon. The death of the Admiral (continues Thuanus) was only a prelude to the other barbarities of that execrable night; the *Duke of Guiſe*, and thoſe that were with him, crying out, "Fellow-ſoldiers, let us purſue the work ſo happily begun, for ſo the King commands;" which words were often repeated. The number of Proteſtants maſſacred over the kingdom in the ſpace of eight days was above 70,000. Thuanus relates the above and many other particulars of the maſſacre at great length in his hiſtory, tom. 2. lib. 52.

Voltaire has given us in his *Henriade* a moſt affecting deſcription of this tragical event; from which I ſhall give you a few verſes, not becauſe they are the beſt in the poem, but becauſe in them particular mention is made of the *Duke of Guiſe*, the hero of the anecdote-writer, who is there repreſented as the capital actor in this bloody tragedy; and for the benefit of ſuch of your readers as do not underſtand

* [Taken from a London news-paper.]

derſtand French, I ſhall give them in the Engliſh tranſlation, though vaſtly inferior to the original.

Who can deſcribe that cruel night? or who
The various images of ſlaughter paint?
The ravages of ruffians who can tell?
Coligny's murder was but an eſſay,
Not with their future crimes to be compar'd:
When better practis'd in the trade of death,
Horrors on horrors infinite they heap'd.
Th' unbridl'd rout in heat of zeal let looſe,
By *Medicis* * encourag'd and the King,
March'd with drawn ſwords, and eyes that ſparkl'd fire,
Guiſe at their head.

To conclude: The *Duke of Guiſe*, and his brother the *Cardinal*, were, about *ſixteen* years after, (Dec. 13. 1588), aſſaſſinated indeed at Blois, by order of *Henry III.* who was himſelf a bigotted Roman-Catholic, and whoſe hands had been deeply ſtained in the blood of the Pariſian maſſacre. But ſo far were the Huguenots from having any hand in the aſſaſſination of the Guiſes, or even approving of it after it was committed, that we are told by Perefixe, a zealous Roman-Catholic, "The ſhocking circumſtance of the murder of the Guiſes appeared horrible even in the eyes of the Huguenots themſelves, who ſaid, that it too much reſembled the maſſacre of St Bartholomew."

I am, &c. G. B.

* The Queen-Mother.

An account of the condemnation and execution of the Great Marquis of Montroſe.

From the MS. diary of Mr Robert Traill, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh.

WHen the Marquis of Montroſe was brought into the parliament-hall to receive his ſentence, I was preſent, with ſome others of the miniſters of the town, and heard his ſentence read unto him; he being in the pannel, and commanded to kneel on his knees while it was a-reading; which he did, but very unwillingly. After it had been fully read, he anſwered, "That, according to our Scots proverb, *a meſſenger ſhould neither be headed nor hanged.*" My Lord Loudon, being then preſident of the parliament, replied very well, "That it was he, and ſuch as he, that were a great ſnare to princes, and drew them to give ſuch bloody commiſſions." After that he was carried back to priſon, the commiſſion of the kirk then ſitting, did appoint Mr James Hamilton, Mr Robert Baillie, Mr Mungo Law, and me, to go and viſit him in the priſon; for he being ſome years before excommunicated, none except his neareſt relations might converſe with him. But, by a warrant from the kirk, we ſtaid a while with him in conference about his ſoul's condition: but we found him continuing in his old pride, and taking very ill what was ſpoken to him; ſaying, "I pray you, Gentlemen, let me die in peace." It was anſwered to him, that our errand to him was, "That he might die in true peace, being reconciled to the Lord, and to his kirk." He went aſide to a corner of the chamber, and there ſpoke a little time with Mr Robert Baillie alone; and thereafter we left him. Mr Baillie, at our going out of the tolbooth, told us, that what he ſpoke to him was only concerning ſome of his perſonal ſins in his converſation, but nothing concerning the things for which he was condemned. We returned to the commiſſion, and did ſhow unto them what had paſſed among us. They ſeeing, that for the preſent he was not deſiring relaxation from his cenſure of excommunication, did appoint Mr Mungo Law and me, to attend on the morrow upon the ſcaffold, at the time of his execution, that, in caſe he ſhould deſire to be relaxed from his excommunication, we ſhould be allowed to give it unto him in the name of the kirk, and to pray with him and for him, *that what is looſed in earth might be looſed in heaven* *.

But he did not at all deſire it; yea, did not look towards that place of the ſcaffold where we ſtood; only he drew apart ſome of the magiſtrates, and ſpake a while with them; and then went up the ladder in his red ſcarlet caſſock, in a very ſtately manner, and never ſpoke a word. But when the executioner was putting the cord about his neck, he looked down to the people upon the ſcaffold, and aſked, "How long ſhould I hang here?" When my colleague and I *ſaw him caſten over the ladder*, we returned to the commiſſion, and related to them the matter as it was. L. L.

* If the evangelical promiſe was, "That the commiſſion of the general aſſembly 1650, ſhould have *the power of binding and looſing*," in the ſenſe of the phraſe as underſtood by the commiſſion, this prayer may poſſibly be conſidered as ſuperfluous. *Edin. Mag.*

The

The Polar Expedition: being a journal of a voyage towards the North Pole, performed in his Majeſty's ſloops Racehorſe and Carcaſe, commanded by the Hon. Capt. Conſtantine Phipps and Capt. Lutwidge [494.]. *Written by an officer of the ſquadron.*

ON Friday, June 4. 1773, the Racehorſe and Carcaſe ſailed from the Nore; but the latter being the heavier ſailer, it impeded the progreſs of the voyage. On the 7th we gained Whitby road; and having completed our vegetable ſtock, and filled our water, on Sunday the 13th we ſailed again with a freſh gale of wind at S. and made Shetland iſle: the next day, at eleven p. m. Braſſey iſland, bearing N. by E. 9 leagues.

On the 16th we were viſited by many Shetland fiſhing-boats. The people were at firſt very ſhy; but after ſome intreaties they ventured on board, and declared much ſurpriſe at viewing the different apartments of the ſhip, calling the cabins houſes; of which they ſaid there were more than in the town of Lerwick.

On the 17th the wind freſhing at E. we took a new departure from the north end of Shetland; but the two ſucceeding days were ſo foggy, that we could not diſcern our conſort. This obliged us to diſtinguiſh our diſtance by horns, drums, or guns, as occaſion required. By the different navigators who have frequented the northern ſeas it is obſerved, that there are no fogs in the ſpring of the year; but in the advanced part of the ſummer, theſe climates are hardly ever without them.

On Sunday, June 20. we had the ſun the whole twenty-four hours, though we did not feel any ſenſible change in the weather. It was extremely pleaſant; and though the rays of the ſun were ſo very oblique, yet they diffuſed a moderate heat through the atmoſphere, the loweſt altitude from the horizon being 35 d. 33 m. To people unacquainted with aſtronomy, this conſtant ſolar viſitation appears to be a moſt extraordinary phænomenon, as it is a wonderful benefit to thoſe who are under any obligation of ſailing in theſe advanced latitudes.

On the 21ſt of June, having calm and ſerene weather, we ſounded 780 fathoms deep, with a lead of one hundred weight, with which we ſunk a thermometer conſtructed by Lord George Cavendiſh; and although we were not able to ſtrike the ground, yet we found the water was 11 d. colder at that depth than on the ſurface. Having ſpoke with a veſſel bound to Hamburg with ſeals, Mr Wyndham, a gentleman of fortune, and claſſical knowledge, who attended Capt. Phipps upon this expedition, took the opportunity of returning homeward on account of his indiſpoſition, not being able to contend any longer with the ſevere ſickneſs of the ſea. As we proceeded northward, we began to be ſenſible of the change of air, which, with the very thick fogs, made it dank and diſagreeable. This hazy weather is in general more frequent when the winds blow from W. to N. E.

On the 27th, when we had gained the latitude of 75 d. 21 m. N. the weather began to clear up, with the wind ſhifting to the S. W. We diſcovered much wood about the ſhip, and flocks of ſmall birds about the ſize and colour of a linnet, excepting the head, which was of a beautiful bright crimſon.

On the 29th we diſcovered Black Cape, bearing E. by N. 14 leagues. No proſpect can exceed the miſerable, dreary, barren appearance of this coaſt! The land is rocky, high, and pointed; and the ſnow lies in the cliffs the year round, though the ſun ſhines with heat upon it in the ſummer months: but it is ſo firmly frozen, that no occaſional thaw can diſſolve it. In this country, which Nature and Vegetation ſeem to have abandoned, the Ruſſians have eſtabliſhed two colonies, and have wintered two ſeaſons on this inhoſpitable ſhore, on which there are no woods or ſprings. The only water they uſe is ſnow boiled, or melted by the ſun. This day we fell in with the Marquis of Rockingham, belonging to the fiſhery. The maſter informed us, that the day before he came out of the ice, and that three ſhips were juſt cruſhed to pieces by the violence of it. The iſlands of ice meet each other; and being differently actuated, ſome by the currents or tides, and ſome by the winds, come with ſuch force againſt each other, that no ſhip can reſiſt them. In theſe caſes, the crews abandon their veſſels, and ſtay on the ice, till ſome ſhip relieve them, or they periſh in that deplorable ſtate. He complained greatly of the fogs, aſſuring us, that he had had but eight hours clear weather in eleven days. The current on the coaſt of Spitſbergen ſets northward, and yet amongſt the weſt ice it ſets ſtrong to the ſouthward; though,

in general, amongſt the iſles of ice, we diſcovered a regular tide, ſetting N. E. and S. W. and flowing nearly ſix feet perpendicular, the flood coming in from the N. E. ſea. Upon the large flakes of ice floating along the ſhore, we ſaw many ſea horſes and dogs.

The 30th day of June was uncommonly ſerene and warm; the thermometer roſe to 76 expoſed to the ſun's heat, and at midnight fell to about 41.

The following day we made Charles's iſland; upon which is a remarkable high hill, its height being by obſervation, from the level of the ſea 3960 feet, about three fourths of a mile. This mountain was named *Parnaſſus*; which could not be meant as a compliment to the Muſes, or their Poets; for an eternal froſt would ill agree with Poetry and the Bays. Were a Bard to unlock the ſprings of Verſe in praiſe of ſome Lapland lady, where would the grateful Phyllis find a ſprig to ornament his brows? About this hill we ſhot a number of various ſorts of ſea-fowl, which eat extremely well.

On the 3d of July we coaſted the ſhore, having ſtill fine weather. We doubled Cape Cold, a name given to the N. W. part of Charles's iſland. It is a bold cliff, covered with ſnow: the ſummit was veiled by the clouds. Here we fell in with many veſſels upon the fiſhery. We received ſome intelligence from a Bremen veſſel. The maſter poſitively aſſured us, that we could not penetrate above two degrees further north. At 8 a. m. we were abreaſt the ſeven Ice bergs (ſo called by the Dutch). Theſe are ſeven valleys filled with frozen ſnow unthawable, and ſo ſhaded by high hills on either ſide, that the ſun has no power to diſſolve them. The front ſtands in the ſea, which waſhes and diſſolves the under part; the upper part loſing its ſupport, tumbles in heavy flakes, and echoes through the valleys like growling thunder. The front of the higheſt from the ſea's ſurface we judged to be upwards of 100 feet perpendicular. Their aſpect has a moſt beautiful appearance: being variegated with the ſun's rays, they appear like the fineſt painted glaſs. Under theſe columns of ice we anchored in fifteen fathoms water, about three miles from the neareſt ſhore, and ſent our boats for water, which they found in great abundance, running down the mountains in ſmall ſtreams, from the thawing of the ſnow and ice. Here we heard of fifteen Ruſſians, who had attempted to winter on this inhoſpitable ſhore, but ten periſhed with cold and the ſcurvy.

On Monday, July 5. we found the weather very foggy, but ſaw a number of large white ſea-fowls not unlike the heron. About 11 p. m. we weighed, and coaſted; but found ourſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded with rocks, which obliged us to haul to the weſtward; where we ſoon diſcovered the ice, being then in the latitude of 80 d. 15 m. N. The fog continuing the next day, we were alarmed upon hearing a great noiſe like a ſurf beating on a hollow rocky ſhore; and as ſoon as the weather cleared up, we diſcovered the ice right ahead in a continental body; the extremes ſtretching from the N. W. point of the compaſs to the E. Nothing could equal the horrid appearance of the ice through the fog. As far as we could diſcern, it appeared like ſo many high, broken, craggy hills. The wind blowing right upon it, and the ſea agitating the ice, made the flakes craſh and grind together, which occaſioned the diſſonant noiſe we heard before in the fog. The ſet of the ice was ſtrong to the S. E. We ſounded with fifty-five fathoms of line, but got no ground. We continued to ſail along the out-ſkirts about ten leagues, when we diſcovered Hacluit's head-land bearing S. S. E. four leagues; — a horrid, ragged country, about the latitude of 80 d. N.

On Wedneſday, July 7. the weather was moderate, though very cloudy. We ſhaped our courſe to the eaſtward along the ice: and though we took much pains to avoid the floating pieces ſevered from the great body, by bearing up for one, and luffing for another; yet in ſpite of theſe precautions, and the uſe of our ice-poles, we frequently run againſt them with ſuch violence, as even to throw us upon the decks; and by an accident of this kind we had nearly brought the Carcaſe on board of us. Our intention of ſailing thus, was in hopes of meeting with an opening to have puſhed through to the northward; though we now began to be convinced that the froſt was more intenſe to the eaſtward than the weſtward, and that no channel could be ſo far to the northward, where the ice was ſo regularly and durably cemented. The ice had a moſt pleaſing and romantic appearance, being beautifully ſhaded with bright blue.

After

After purſuing our courſe about five leagues further to the eaſtward, we diſcovered the main body of ice joined to the land; ſo that our hopes of proceeding to the northward were fruſtrated. A conſultation was immediately held, and the pilots repreſented, that there was not the leaſt probability of a paſſage, and that by any further delay we ran a riſk of the ſhips being ſuddenly incloſed with the floating fields of ice, and in conſequence thereof muſt be cruſhed to pieces. The ice now almoſt ſurrounded us, the currents driving flake againſt flake with almoſt irreſiſtible force. The truth of this we were very ſoon convinced of; for the wind, ſoon after abating, though the ſea was perfectly ſmooth, yet in turning the ſhip's head to the weſtward, a circular current drove the ice all around us with an amazing impetuoſity. — In a ſhort time we were wedged in; upon which we uſed our ice-anchors, and forced the ſhip through to the looſer ice, until a breeze of wind ſprung up, which carried us again to the weſtward.

The weather now became thick, and at times foggy. We had the wind generally to the S. S. W. which we took the advantage of, and puſhed through to the weſtward. — We ſaw ſome ſhips, and ſpoke with a Greenlander bound home.

On Sunday the 11th, the weather clearing away, we diſcovered a great body of ice from the N. W. to the N. E. that appeared to be firmly united; upon which we ſtood away to the S. E. to aſſure our ſituation, and prevent being frozen up. The weather this day was colder than ever we had felt it; the thermometer fell from 41 d. to 37 d. At noon we diſcovered the land of Vogle ſound, bearing E. S. E. ſix or ſeven leagues. This land is the N. W. extremity of Spitſbergen, being ten miles north of Hacluit's head-land, the latitude of which is in 80 d. N. We now felt a very heavy ſwell from the weſtward, which occaſioned the ſhips to receive many ſevere ſhocks from the ice. On the 13th the ſhips drove in ſhore, being calm weather. It was difficult to determine here, whether the tides were regular or not. — We obſerved the ſhips to drive S. W. ſix hours, and N. E. the ſame time; and the flood was from the northward. But the wind ſpringing up ſuddenly at S. W. and blowing ſtrong, we bore away for Vogle ſound, where we anchored in ten fathoms water. We met many veſſels here upon the different fiſheries. We now took an oppotunity to complete our water, having often tried Dr Irwin's ſcheme in vain of making ſalt water freſh; which never anſwered in any perfection, not even to be ſo freſhened that the hogs might drink it. Here we obſerved the tracks of many rein-deer. We picked up a great many of their horns, which were ſcattered up and down the ſhore. To a ſmall iſland in the centre of the ſound of Vogle we ſent our aſtronomical inſtruments, to make ſuch obſervations as were neceſſary. This iſland is a ſolid rock of white marble, with a very thin ſoil of ſand and clay; and in many places it is covered with a fine moſs. There was a Dutchman buried here a few days before our arrival, as appeared by an inſcription on a board. The body was covered over with a pile of ſtones, to prevent the bear from digging it up; for when this animal is ſeverely drove for food, he always frequents theſe burial-places to feed on the human carcaſes.

Upon this marble iſland we erected two tents; where we were viſited by many Dutchmen. — Our ſurgeon made an excurſion to one of the higheſt neighbouring mountains, which we found by the barometer to be 1300 feet perpendicular. There were ſeveral around it conſiderably higher, but quite inacceſſible. It was with much labour that he obtained the ſummit of this mountain, being obliged to paſs many lofty hills of ice, which are full of dangerous cracks, being ſometimes covered over with very thin ice, or ſnow, which require great caution to avoid. A ſurgeon belonging to a Dutch ſhip in Mackalina harbour being out a-ſhooting, unhappily fell down one of theſe fiſſures. He was heard to groan terribly for a long time; — a line was lowered down many fathoms, in hopes he might ſee it: but all to no purpoſe; he periſhed in moſt lingering and excruciating tortures.

We found here many foxes, gray and black, of a peculiar cunning. When they want to ſecure their prey, which is in general birds, they extend themſelves on the ſnow as if they were dead; the birds inſtantly hover about the body to feed upon it; but as ſoon as the fox diſcovers one within his reach, he ſprings up, and ſecures the prize. Upon the ſhore of this iſle, we found the tide to riſe four feet perpendicular: it flowed

eaſtward about five hours, and ebbed weſtward ſeven. It is ſtrong and irregular, being oppoſed by different currents, which run amongſt theſe iſlands. —— We ſhot a great many different kinds of birds, the deſcriptions of which I have here ſubjoined.

The *Mountain-Duck* is of the Wild-Duck kind; but of the ſize of a gooſe. The bill and body are like the common duck. The drake is a beautiful black and white bird; the duck is brown. Their necks are much ſhorter than the common ducks; their eggs are of a pale blueiſh colour, which they lay in neſts compoſed of down and fine moſs. They are not ſhy, and fly in large flocks.

The *Kittiwa*, or *Swallow*, is a bird of the moſt beautiful plumage in theſe latitudes. It appears, when flying, to be very large, on account of the length of its wings, and the long feathers of its tail; but when picked, the body is not larger than a lark. The bill and claws are of a beautiful crimſon colour; the eyes and talons are of a bright jet black, and the body of a pearl gray: the feathers are white under the wings and tail. The upper part of the head is black, and the ſides white. The tail has four forked feathers, and the ſides of the margin-feathers of the wing are black. They fly in pairs, and are eaſily ſhot. They are very careleſs of their eggs, which are of the ſize of a pigeon's, and drop them promiſcuouſly on the moſs: they are of a dirty greeniſh colour, with black ſpecks. The food of this bird is ſhrimps and ſmall prawns.

The *Snipe* is very plentiful, and much like that of all ſouthern climes, but ſmaller.

The *Burgomaſter*, ſo called by the Dutch who frequent theſe ſeas, is as big as a ſtork. The legs are not ſo long, and the claws are palmated; the firſt are gray, and the latter black. The back and the wings are of a bright pearl colour; the head, neck, body, and tail, are white; the eyes are black, with a bright ſcarlet ring round them. It builds very high in the cliffs, and feeds upon birds, or the fat of whales, or other dead fiſhes. It flies ſingle, but many will hover about a dead carcaſe. It often rests upon the water, but never dives.

On the 19th day of July we had another viſit from a Dutch boat, which came through the arch of an ice-mountain forty feet high. The water poured through this cryſtalline paſſage like a great river; — it had a moſt beautiful appearance when the ſun ſhone upon it, being variegated with many bright tranſparent particles. The people had been in ſearch of wood, and had found a great quantity, particularly a large birch tree, twenty feet long, and two feet in diameter. It is very doubtful from whence this wood can come, as there is not the leaſt appearance of a ſingle tree growing upon the coaſt, excepting the willow, which we brought home with us.

As we diſcovered the ice ſetting in for the land very rapidly, we diſpatched our obſervations as faſt as poſſible. The thermometer expoſed to the ſun for five minutes, roſe from 56 d. confined air, to 89 d. We alſo obſerved, that the thermometer which was carried to the top of the mountain, was there ten degrees higher than below. This experiment was made at the ſame time that the height of the mountain was determined by the barometer. This marble iſland lies low and level, and therefore is not ſubject to be covered with ſnow, and, conſequently, more expoſed to the intenſe ſeverities of the froſts, which ſplit the rocks; ſo that only ſmall pieces of ſolid ſtone were to be ſeen. We obſerved the ſame in all places expoſed to a northern aſpect. We have had ſufficient proofs, that the ſeverity of froſt will ſplit metals as well as ſtones, excepting gold, which it expands. This muſt be certainly owing to the ſmall particles of fluid matter contained in thoſe ſubſtances, which by freezing, extend the properties, and, conſequently, ſever the ſubſtance.

We now took leave of this hard, inhoſpitable ſhore, and ſteered away to the eaſtward, ſtill flattered with the hopes of finding an opening through the ice to the northward. On the 20th, at 6 p. m, we ſaw a phænomenon which is very common in theſe latitudes. By ſeamen it is called the *mock-ſun*, and by philoſophers *parhelium*. This meteor appeared about fifteen minutes of a bright colour, but rather paler than the ſun; and upon the air's clearing up, it diſappeared. It is produced by thick clouds gathering on the ſides of the ſun; in which the broken ſolar rays being gathered, the face of the ſun is repreſented therein. The looſe ice being now extremely thick about us, obliged us to

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ſhorten ſail. — We ſaw more whales this day than at any time ſince we had been out. We began to be very ſenſible of the froſts, and the ſnow fell continually; and though we had ſteered well to the northward, we found ourſelves at noon, on the 21ſt of July, in the latitude 77 d. 29 m. N. which makes an error in our log of twenty miles: the cauſe we attributed to the ſtrong ſet of the ſouthern currents.

On the 23d we ſaw Spitſbergen and Vogle ſound S. E. of us ſeven leagues. The whales and ſeals were now very numerous; but the looſe fields of ice ſo troubleſome, that in running at the rate of ſeven knots, one of them brought the ſhip round up, and with ſuch violence, that it carried away the mouldings of the quarter, and did other inconſiderable damages. The ſucceeding day at noon, we diſcovered Red-hill, S. S. W. four miles. From this mount a low even land is extended about fourteen miles, perfectly clear of ſnow, and which ſeemed to be more habitable than any other land we had yet diſcovered. All the prior navigators have called it *Deer-field*, from the quantities of rein-deer which frequent it. To the eaſtward of this land lies a ſmall, low, black ſpot, called *Muffin iſle*, which appears exactly like a black line drawn along the horizon. We had now leſs ice than before, and ſtruck ſoundings continually from twenty-four to eleven fathoms, rocky ground with ſmall ſtones. We diſpatched our boats to this low iſland, where the crews engaged ſeveral very large bears; one in particular made ſo gallant a defence, that he obliged the people to quit the field, and they, in their hurry, left behind them ſeveral half-pikes. They alſo killed a ſea-horſe, which made a very fierce reſiſtance, attacking the boats with amazing fury; but at laſt he fell overpowered, and was not leſs than a large ox.

On the 27th the weather was foggy and calm — One of our ſeamen died of a decline, having been long in a bad ſtate of health: our people in general were in high ſpirits and good health. The following midnight we ſaw ſeveral iſlands to the northward. We were then, by a good obſervation, in the latitude of 80 d. 37 m. N. We were now quite embayed with ice, which appeared to be running rapidly to the S. E. — This ice was a great deal higher than any we had yet diſcovered to the weſtward of Hackuit's headland. During the laſt forty-eight hours the weather was fine and ſerene, and pleaſant as the month of May in more ſouthern climates. A great number of ſeals were ſporting and gamboling about, as if they enjoyed the fineneſs of the weather, and ſeemed to ſhew their gratitude in their joy and activity. We ſent our boats to ſhore in queſt of ſome ſea-horſes, which attacked the people and the boats with great fury, and obliged them to retreat: there was much drift wood upon this iſland, and many trees freſh felled. It lies in about 80 d. 31 m. N.

On the 31ſt of July we obſerved the ice to run to the S. E. round the ſeven iſlands; but the weſtern ice drove in very faſt to the ſhore, and joined the land; upon which we got out our ice-anchors, and made the ſhip faſt; as did the Carcaſe. A breeze ſpringing up before noon the ſucceeding day, we attempted to force a paſſage through; but in vain: ſo we moored the ſhip again to the ice. At this time I meaſured a flake of ice, which was twenty-four feet ten inches thick, and floated about two feet three inches above the water's ſurface. We now diſcovered nothing from the maſt-heads but one continued plain of ice: our people were nevertheleſs in high ſpirits, and playing a thouſand gambols about the ſhips. We ſhot at many bears which made towards the veſſels; but we only brought down one, though we wounded many with muſket-ſhot. That which we killed weighed without the ſkin and intrails 602 pounds. In this ſituation we had ſoundings at ſixty-four fathoms muddy ground, being in the latitude of 80 d. 31 m. N.; the neareſt iſland being two or three miles to northward of us. We now began to be more ſerious than before about our ſituation, as the ice gave no ſigns of moving. We attempted to cut a channel to the weſtward; but this was a fruitleſs attempt. We then cut a dock out for the ſhips, and moored them to the ice. We looked out in vain, but could diſcover no ſea from our maſt-heads, though the atmoſphere was fine, ſerene, and clear. Many bears viſited the ſhips, and we wounded many; but they got off with a brace of muſket-balls in their bodies; for we found it impoſſible to kill them unleſs they were ſtruck in ſome particular part, where the hair was leſs thick

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and the ſkin more vulnerable. We eat of many; the fleſh was good, and not unlike the taſte of beef. We ſent two of the pilots to the neareſt higheſt land to try to find a paſſage or an opening; but all was ice as far as ever the eye could range. The ſhip drove bodily with the ice N. W. and S. E. as the tides or winds affected. We altered our ſoundings from 33 to 23 fathoms of water, though the ground was much the ſame.

We diſpatched now another party of people to the weſternmoſt iſland. They were gone about twenty hours, being twenty miles diſtant from the ſhips. They met with nothing on their journey but bears and their cubs, a number of which were killed from the veſſels. Our ſituation beginning now to grow rather fixed and ſerious, a council of officers was aſſembled, at which the pilots aſſiſted, to conſult about the ſtate of the ſhips; when it was unanimouſly agreed, that there was no poſſibility of ſaving them, as the ice preſſed them together very much, unleſs it ſeparated; which could only be at the gracious interpoſition of Providence. The next conſideration was ſelf-preſervation. The ſeaſon being now far advanced, and we at a great diſtance from any veſſels, it was reſolved to prepare the boats, and fit them with coverings, ſo that we might drag them over the ice, until we obtained clear water, when they were to be lanched; and in them we were to endeavour to obtain the northermoſt harbour of Spitſbergen, in hopes of joining ſome of the late ſhips which might not be failed to the ſouthward. Our people in this dilemma were all in the higheſt ſpirits; ſo we got out our lanches and boats, and prepared them for ſkating over the ice. Every man had a canvas bag given him, which contained twenty pounds of bread, without diſtinction of perſons; each man being obliged to prepare for his own ſafety. It was now one entire ſcene of confuſion in all our cabins: for the officers had clothed themſelves in ſuch things as they beſt approved; the reſt were given to the ſeamen to fit themſelves as they liked beſt, and to take any thing which was more acceptable than their own. The ſailors, who, amidſt every diſtreſs, never loſe their jokes or their ſpirits, clad themſelves in what appeared the moſt valuable; ſo that the two ſhips companies made up a moſt motley maſquerade. The ſhip was found to ſhoal her water coutinually to even thirteen fathoms: and now no hope was left of ſafety, but by trying the chance of an expedition over the ice; for which the people, at 4. p. m. on Sunday Aug. 8. were all prepared, and with uncommon alacrity left their ſhips frozen up.

In this ſituation we remained ten days; all which time we were in the higheſt ſpirits, and promiſed ourſelves a ſure voyage in the boats to the ſouthward. Happily, upon the 9th of Auguſt, the ice began to break, the people returned, and we forced the ſhips through into clear water: in preſſing the ſhips with ſail, one large piece of ice ſtruck the ſhank of the beſt bower anchor, and broke it ſhort off.

The following day at noon, we diſcovered Brandy iſland, N. E. ſix leagues; and ſoon after we ſaw a ſhip in the S. W. quarter. On the 12th of Auguſt we anchored in Smeringburg harbour, where we found ſome Dutch ſhips. In this port we erected tents for the conveniency of baking our bread; and Capt. Phipps and ſome of the officers carried on ſhore the aſtronomical inſtrument to try thoſe experiments which the climate and our ſituation afforded. After a ſtay of eight days, we ſailed from hence to the weſtward, being about N. N. W. eleven leagues off Hacluit's head-land. We ſtill remained amongſt the ice, being about three miles to the ſouthward of the main body; and about two in the morning of Aug. 21. we ſtood for the ſouthward, with the Carcaſe in company. From this time to the 12th of September, we ſteered to the ſouthward. When in the latitude of 56 d. 57 m. we met with a very heavy gale of wind, and ſhipped ſeveral ſeas, which ſtove our boats, waſhed away our booms, and many proviſion-caſks, and obliged us to heave ſome of our guns overboard. The weather continued many days variable, blowing very hard at times, and being very thick, we loſt company with the Carcaſe. In the morning of Sept. 24. we made Orford-Neſs; and four days afterwards arrived ſafe at Woolwich with our conſort the Carcaſe, having been out three months and twenty-four days; in which time we accompliſhed a moſt difficult voyage, with the loſs of only one man, and penetrated farther to the northward than any navigators had done before.

I cannot conclude this narrative without doing every juſtice to the character of Capt. Phipps, who is not leſs diſtinguiſhed as a ſea-officer than as a ſenator: for to the calmeſt temper, the ſoundeſt judgement, and the cleareſt head, is added the braveſt and moſt generous heart. To the principles of a patriot and a hero is annexed the milk of human kindneſs; for with Terence we may ſay of him, "That he is a man — and all calamities which touch humanity come home to him."

The intention of this voyage to the northward, was meant only as a preface to a greater undertaking, to try at a diſcoverty of the North-Weſt paſſage, and to prove the magnetic attraction of the needle. The various northern voyages already written are ſo numerous, that it would be endleſs even to compare them with that of Capt. Phipps. A contention has long ſubſiſted between the Dutch, Daniſh, Swediſh, and Engliſh navigators: many attempts have been made by the mariners of theſe countries to excel in their diſcoveries; and many of them, in conſequence of this exertion, to bear the victory from the others, have made falſe reports of their latitudes gained. I cannot, however, find out, from all the maps and voyages I have peruſed, that any navigators have been farther to the weſtward by the land than Capt. Phipps, whoſe extreme latitude was 80 d. 35 m. N. the Table iſland then bearing N. N. E. four miles; and then they ſaw land to the N. N. E. twenty leagues. It is difficult to determine whether theſe ſhips could have obtained a higher latitude by keeping more in with the weſtern ſhore. Not that I believe they could; for it ſeems to be one unfrozen continent of indiſſoluble ice. But ſuppoſing in the height of the ſummer-months, a paſſage was free for a ſhort time; even then it is not to be ſuppoſed that any ſhips could attempt voyages through ſo uncertain a clime. Theſe voyages therefore can only produce ſatisfaction to the aſtronomical mind; they never can be made uſeful to the merchant.

No officer in his Majeſty's ſervice was ſo well calculated for ſuch an undertaking as Capt. Phipps; for, added to a robuſt conſtitution, he has a moſt excellent capacity and education. When men of ſuch fortunes and abilities undertake ſuch ordeals, the public receive benefit from their obſervations: nor do we doubt, but Capt. Phipps will honour the world with a peruſal of his expedition; of which this is but a ſmall ſketch, and done with a deſign rather to excite the deſires of the public than minutely to gratify. — Dr Irwine, a moſt ingenious philoſopher, who attended this expedition, made many trials on the ſalt water to freſhen it; and from the experiments made, there is no doubt of the ſucceſs of his invention. In this expedition, Mr Foxon's perpetual logg was tried with great ſucceſs in blowing weather, and when a ſea followed the ſhip; but in light breezes and ſmooth water, the old logg was found to be equally accurate: great merit, however, is due to the invention of Foxon; and ſo good an artiſt deſerves encouragement at the hands of the admiralty. The man was bred a carpenter, and ſerved in that capacity in the India ſervice, wherein for three voyages he tried the qualities of his invention; and, upon an average, it was found to correct the ſhip's run between ten and ſeven miles every twenty-four hours. Lord Sandwich has recommended the machine to the navy-board, who have ordered them into the ſhips of war.

We will now leave theſe Polar Explorers; and for the ſake of the anxious public, we ſolicit from them a more full and circumſtantial account of this expedition, particularly of Capt. Phipps, who had ſuch ſuperior advantages of obſervation, and who poſſeſſes ſuch ſuperior abilities to the author of this journal.

To take creaſes and wrinkles out of parchment.

SMear lightly over the creaſes and wrinkles ſome paſte, ſuch as is uſed by bookbinders. Then preſs the places that are crumpled and creaſed, with a ſmooth folding-ſtick, on the *blank* or *back* ſide of the parchment; placing firſt ſeveral ſheets of ſoft and ſmooth paper underneath. Then, with a linen cloth, a little moiſtened with water, wipe the paſte all off, and place two or three ſheets of the like paper on the ſide that was paſted, and paſs a hot flat iron, uſed for ironing linen, over the whole, preſſing it ſlowly and forcibly. When this is done, preſs the whole in a bookbinder's ſtanding-preſs, or a napkin-preſs.

Jan. 20. 1774.

A voyage to the Isle of France, the Isle of Bourbon, the Cape of Good Hope, &c. with new observations on Nature and Mankind. By an officer in the French service. French. 2 *vols*, 8*vo*. Amsterdam.

THese volumes consist of a series of letters written by the author to his friends, during his residence in the several places of which he speaks. The observations they contain, are natural and moral. The native plants and animals of each island, with its prior and its present state, and the genius and manners of its inhabitants, are respectively described: and what particularly recommends, we had almost said, endears the author to his readers, is the singular humanity with which he protests against the sufferings of the poor black slaves. "I trust," says he, "I shall not be found altogether useless to the interests of human nature, if the imperfect picture I have drawn of the sufferings of the unfortunate negroes may be a means of saving them a single whipping!" He laments that the Europeans, who, in their own country, exclaim against despotism, and write such fine treatises on morals, do not "relax in their tyranny and barbarity to the Indians."

This traveller possesses one quality, which no writer of travels ought to want, —abilities for description. It is in proportion to these that a book of travels will always be found good or bad; and from these Mr Brydone's account of Ætna, and, indeed, his whole book, derives its principal excellence.

Our author's account of the storm in the Mosambic channel, is most tremendous! It is horrible, beyond expression! We see it; we are in the storm; thunders that more than stun the ear,—that stun the soul! the dark depth of night admitting dreadful avenues of day through the almost incessant lightning! the mortal wave, seen advancing through this infernal medium, in shape and bulk a monstrous mountain, its head in the skies, scaled on its heaving sides by smaller hills,—seen still advancing; 'tis—death and horror! 'tis upon us!—We want sea-terms to give the *minutiæ* of the voyager's description, but such are the ideas it excites in us.

One would naturally suppose that it must be some very desirable port that could induce a man to encounter the horrors of the Mosambic; but the Isle of France is a miserable place. We scarce need to inform our readers, that it is the same island which, in the possession of the Dutch, was called *Mauritius;* and that, when they obtained a settlement at the Cape, they left it. France took the refuse, and, in her genuine style, gave the ragged portion the name of one of her most beautiful domestic provinces, the Isle of France, where stands the glorious city of Paris, the fountain-head of politeness, of the *Beaux Arts* and the *Belles Lettres!*

It is not worth while to detain our readers with a minute account of a region, of which Nature seems to have taken *no* account; for all her productions here are of the *mauvaise Genie:*

No bird of song to chear the gloomy desert!
No animals of gentle loves enliven!

Our spirited traveller employs his 12th letter entirely on the negroes. The interests of humanity are concerned, and we shall suffer him to plead them in his own way:

"Among the rest of the people of this island are the Indians and the negroes. The former are the Malabars, of a gentle and tractable disposition. These come from Pondicherry, and let themselves to hire for a number of years. They are almost all artificers. They live in a suburb called Blacks Field [*Camp des Noirs*]. They are of a deeper tinct than the islanders of Madagascar, who are the genuine negroes; but their features are as regular as those of the Europeans, and their hair is not frizzled. They are very sober, good œconomists, and remarkably fond of the women *. They wear a turban on their heads, and long muslin gowns, large gold rings in their ears, and silver bracelets on their wrists. Some of them let themselves to people of fashion in quality of *pions*, a kind of domestic like our running footmen, except that he does all his offices with great gravity and sobriety. By way of distinction, he carries

* By our traveller's leave, we have known, in England, servants from Malabar, who in their persons, indeed, perfectly answered the description he gives, but in manners were the reverse; for they were neither remarkable for sobriety, œconomy, nor fondness of women.

a cane in his hand, and a poniard at his girdle. It were to be wished that some considerable number of Malabars were settled on the island, particularly in the labouring department; but I never saw one that would apply himself to agriculture.

The blacks that are employed in cultivation are chiefly from Madagascar. You may purchase a man for a barrel of gunpowder, firelocks, nets, and especially for piastres. The highest price is never more than fifty crowns.

The negroes of Madagascar have neither such flat noses, nor such dark complexions, as the Guinea negroes. There are some of them mere brunets; others, the Balamboos particularly, have long hair. I have seen whites and reds. They are adroit, intelligent, sensible of honour and gratitude. The greatest insult you can exercise upon a black, is to do an injury to his family; they are not very sensible of personal injuries. In their own country they apply themselves to many little handicratts with great industry. Their zagaye, or half-pike, is very well forged, though they have nothing but stones for their anvil and their hammer. Their linen, which their women weave, is fine, and well coloured. They throw it over their shoulders in a graceful manner. Their heads are in a very orderly and regular frisure, disposed in curls and tresses with great art; and this is the task of the women. They are passionately fond of dancing and music. Their instrument is the *tamtam*, a kind of bow, to which a calibash is fitted. They draw from it a soft kind of harmony, accompanied with songs of their own composition. Love is always the subject. The girls dance to the songs of their lovers. The spectators beat time, and applaud the performance.

These poor people are extremely hospitable. A black, when on his journey, goes into the first house that suits his exigency; and, though unknown, the family share their provisions with him. He is neither asked whence he comes, nor whither he goes. It is the custom of their country.

With such arts and such manners they come to the Isle of France. They are set on shore naked, except a rag that covers their loins. The men are ranged on one side, and the women on the other, with their little children, who cling about the mother through fear. The planter examines the whole, and purchases such as suit him. Brothers, sisters, friends, lovers, are separated. They take leave of each other with tears, and depart for the plantation. Sometimes they are seized with despair, and imagine that the whites are going to eat them, that they intend to make red wine of their blood, and gunpowder of their bones.

In this manner they are treated: At day-break, three cracks of the whip are the signal that calls them to work. Each man appears in the plantation with his mattock, where he works almost naked in the heat of the sun. Their food is ground maize boiled in water, or bread of the manioc. Their cloathing is a scrap of linen. For the least neglect they are bound hand and foot on a ladder. Their commander, armed with a postilion's whip, stands over them, and gives them, on their naked posteriors, fifty, an hundred, or two hundred lashes. Every lash brings off a portion of the skin. The poor wretch, covered with his blood, is then let loose. An iron chain is put round his neck, and he is dragged back to his work. Some of these miserable creatures are not able to sit down for a month after. The women are punished in the same manner.

When they return at evening to their huts, they are made to pray to God for the prosperity of their masters; and, before they go to rest, they with them a good night.

There is a law made in their favour, called the *Black Code*. This law ordains, that at each punishment they shall receive no more than thirty lashes; that they shall not be obliged to work on Sundays; that they shall have their provisions weekly, their shirts yearly. But this law is not observed. Sometimes, when they grow old, they are turned adrift to get their living as they can. One day I saw one of them, who was nothing but skin and bone, cutting some flesh from a dead horse to eat. It appeared to be one skeleton devouring another.

When the Europeans seemed affected, the inhabitants told them, that they did not know the blacks; that they were such egregious gluttons, they would go out by night to steal provisions from the neighbouring plantations; so lazy, that they were totally regardless of the interests of their masters; and that their wives were the most wretched mothers,

and fought rather to have abortive than honeſt births.

The negroes are naturally of a joyous temper, but after ſome years of ſlavery they grow melancholy. Love alone ſeems to be the ſolace of their ſufferings. They will do any thing to get a woman. They generally prefer thoſe that have paſſed the firſt ſtage of female maturity. They ſay, *elles font mieux la ſoupe*. They give them every thing they have. If their miſtreſs is in the hands of another planter, they will go three or four leagues by night to viſit her. When they are in love, they regard neither fatigue nor puniſhment. They have, occaſionally, their midnight-rendezvous. They dance beneath the ſhelter of ſome rock, to the melancholy ſound of a gourd filled with peaſe. But the glimpſe of a white man, or the bark of a dog, puts an end to their nocturnal aſſemblies.

They have their dogs too. It is well known that theſe animals, even in the darkeſt night, know not only the whites, but even the dogs of the whites. They have the utmoſt fear of and averſion to them; and howl as they approach them. Their attachments are excluſively to the blacks and their abettors. On the other hand, the dogs belonging to the whites, adopt the ſentiments of their maſters, and, on the leaſt ſignal, fall with fury on the ſlaves.

In ſhort, when theſe wretched negroes can no longer ſupport their condition, they ſink into deſpair. Some of them put a period to their lives by poiſon or the halter. Others throw themſelves into ſome petty boat, without ſails, without compaſs, without proviſions. In this manner they hazard a paſſage of 200 leagues, to return to Madagaſcar. I have known them land, be retaken, and returned to their maſters.

In general they take refuge in the woods, where they are hunted by detachments of ſoldiers, negroes, and dogs. Planters there are who make, on ſuch occaſions, a party of pleaſure. They are attacked with the ſpear like wild beaſts. When they cannot be reached this way, they are ſhot. Their heads are cut off, and they are carried in triumph to the town on the end of a pole. This is what I have ſeen almoſt weekly.

When a fugitive negro is taken, he has one ear cut off, and is whipped. On a ſecond deſertion, he is whipped, has one ham ſtrung, and a chain faſtened about his neck. On a third he is hanged. But this ſeldom happens, the maſters being unwilling in general, on ſuch a ſcore, to loſe their propery.

I have ſeen them hanged and broke alive. They went to their puniſhment with pleaſure, and ſupported it without complaint. I have ſeen a woman throw herſelf voluntarily from the ladder. They cry, that in another world they ſhall find a happier life, and that THE FATHER OF MANKIND IS NOT SO UNJUST AS MEN ARE.

They have occaſionally the conſolations of religion propoſed to them, and are, from time to time, baptized. They are told, that they are made brethren of the whites, and ſhall go to heaven. But they hardly know how to believe, that the Europeans ſhould conduct them to heaven, whilſt they are, they ſay, the cauſe of all their ſufferings on earth.—"Before theſe Europeans came amongſt us," ſay they, "we fought only with ſticks, but they have taught us to kill at a diſtance with fire and balls; they have introduced war and diſcord among us, that they may buy ſlaves cheap. We followed without fear the inſtinct of Nature, but they have brought terrible maladies amongſt us, which makes it now even dangerous ſo to do. They frequently refuſe us neceſſary meat and cloaths, and beat us cruelly without a reaſon."—Of this I have ſeen many inſtances. A ſlave, almoſt white, threw herſelf one day at my feet. Her miſtreſs made her riſe early and watch late. If ſhe chanced to ſleep, ſhe rubbed her mouth with ordure; and if ſhe did not lick her lips, ſhe commanded her to be whipt. She begged of me to ſolicit her pardon, which I obtained. Sometimes the maſters of theſe wretches grant ſuch requeſts, and within two days double their puniſhment, reckoning in tale of laſhes what they had profeſſedly forgiven. A counſellor, of whom ſome blacks had complained to the governor, aſſured me, that though they were exempted from puniſhment that day, the next he would have them flea'd from head to foot.

I have daily beheld men and women whipt for having broken a pot, or forgotten to ſhut a gate, their bloody limbs afterwards rubbed with vinegar and ſalt to heal them. I have ſeen them, in the exceſs of their anguiſh, unable to cry any longer. I have ſeen them bite the

cannon

cannon on which they were bound. — I ſicken at the recital of theſe horrors: — My eyes ach with ſeeing them: — My ears with hearing them! Happy *you!* When the town gives you offence, you retire to the country; your eye is delighted with beauteous plains, hills, hamlets, harveſts, vintages, a people that dance and ſing; — images, at leaſt, of happineſs! *Here* I ſee poor negro-women bending o'er their ſpades, their naked children bound upon their backs, miſerable creatures that tremble as they paſs before me. Sometimes, perhaps, I hear at diſtance the ſound of their tambour, but more frequently the ſound of whips cracking in the air like the report of a piſtol, and the heart-rending cries of "Mercy, Maſter, Mercy!" — If I fly to ſolitudes, I find myſelf among rugged rocks, mountains that lift their inacceſſible ſummits into the clouds, and torrents that ruſh horribly into the abyſs beneath; winds that howl through ſavage deſerts, the ſullen ſound of waves breaking againſt the ſhores, the vaſt ocean rolling its ſtupendous waters to regions unknown to human inquiry; — all theſe objects ſerve but to cheriſh the melancholy ideas of ſeclusion from ſociety, and of exile.

"*P. S.* I know not whether coffee and ſugar may be neceſſary to the happineſs of Europe, but I know that they have been the ſource of miſery to two quarters of the globe. America was depopulated to obtain room for planting, and Africa was depopulated to furniſh ſlaves for the cultivation.

We are told, that it is our intereſt rather to cultivate ſuch commodities as are become neceſſary to us, than purchaſe them of our neighbours. But as carpenters, tilers, maſons, and other European artificers, can, in their ſeveral countries, purſue their buſineſs in the heat of the ſun, why ſhould we not have white labourers here? But what then, you will ſay, would become of the proprietaries? — They would grow richer. A planter with twenty farmers, would be in good circumſtances. With twenty ſlaves he is poor. They reckon here 20,000 ſlaves. Of theſe an eighteenth part are renewed annually; ſo that the colony left to itſelf, would in eighteen years be totally exhauſted. So true it is, that population depends on liberty and property, and that injuſtice is the worſt œconomy.

It will be alledged, that the Black Code was inſtituted in their favour. Be it ſo: the ſeverity of their maſters ſtill exceeds the allotted puniſhments; and their avarice with-holds the proviſions, the repoſe, and rewards, that are their due. If the unfortunate creatures would complain, to whom can they complain? Their judges are often their greateſt tyrants.

It is alledged, that, without ſeverity, it is impoſſible to manage the ſlaves: you muſt have puniſhments and pains, iron collars with three braces, whips, blocks to bind them to by the foot, and chains to go round their necks. They muſt, in ſhort, be treated like beaſts, that the whites may live like men.

Can we wonder at reaſoning like this? Where there is injuſtice in the principle, there muſt be inhumanity in the conſequence.

But it is not enough that theſe poor wretches are given up to the avarice and cruelty of the moſt depraved of mankind: they muſt be the ſport likewiſe of their ſophiſtry.

Theologians affirm, that by a temporal ſlavery they procure a ſpiritual liberty. The greater part of them, however, are purchaſed at an age when they cannot learn French, and the miſſionaries do not underſtand their language. Beſides, thoſe that are baptized are treated like the reſt.

They add, that they have merited the chaſtiſement of Heaven by ſelling one another. But are we then to be their executioners? Let us leave the vultures to deſtroy the kites.

It is a maxim with the politicians, That ſlavery is the authoriſed effect of war. But the blacks make no war on us: I allow that human laws permit this; but we ought at leaſt to confine ourſelves within the bounds they preſcribe.

I am mortified when I think, that thoſe philoſophers who have ſhewn ſo much fortitude in their attacks of moral and religious abuſes, have not once mentioned the poor negroes, unleſs in the way of pleaſantry. They turn from the view of their misfortunes. They talk of the maſſacre of the Mexicans by the Spaniards, as if that crime were not the guilt of our own days; a guilt in which half Europe is concerned. Is it a greater crime at once to aſſaſſinate a people who differ from us in opinion, than to hold in living torments a race of men who labour

for the gratification of our palates and appetites, our internal and external luxuries? Thofe beauteous colours of flame and rofes that adorn our European ladies, their cotton, their fugar, their coffee, their chocolate, their *rouge*, -- all thefe the hand of the unhappy negro has prepared. Ye fouls of female fenfibility! whofe bright eyes overflow at fcenes of theatric mifery, do ye ever conſider, that what contributes to your pleafures is wet with human tears, and ſtained with human blood?"

If there be any man who, on the perufal of this letter, feels not for the cauſe of juſtice and humanity, to offer him further arguments in their fupport would be fruitleſs. M.

Foreign.

1. General plan and argument of ſeveral objects and diſcoveries that compoſe a work, intitled, *The primitive world analyſed, and compared with the modern world; or, Inquiries into the antiquities of the world.* By M. Court de Gebelin. — 2. Oriental allegories; or, The Fragment of Sanchoniathon: containing the hiſtory of Saturn, together with the hiſtories of Mercury and Hercules, and an explication of his Twelve Labours; being an introduction to the knowledge of the ſymbolic genius of antiquity. By the ſame. — 3. The primitive world analyſed, and compared with the modern world; in a view of its allegoric genius, and of the allegories to which that genius led. French. 4to, each a volume. *Paris* 1773. —— Theſe ſeparate publications, which, in order of time, appeared as we have placed them, conſtitute the firſt volume of a work that has excited the attention and curioſity of Europe. The greatneſs of the object, the ſpirit of the attempt, the idea of erudition requiſite to ſuch an enterpriſe, have filled the *literati* with aſtoniſhment in *general*; — with doubts and ſuſpicions, hope and admiration, expectation and contempt, in *particular*, as envy or benevolence, prejudice or enthuſiaſm prevailed. We ſeldom ſit in ſober judgement on extraordinary objects. Private paſſions often interfere, although ſuch objects ought ever to be viewed with the moſt diſpaſſionate eye. If we are offended with high aſſumptions of learning, adieu to ſobriety of judgement! Our envy is alarmed, beyond a doubt — Yet this is rank folly. Is the man who aſſumes this ſuperiority of knowledge an object for envy? How far from it! How perilous the eminence on which he has placed himſelf? What horror would not purſue his fall? ſhould we envy him? — we ſhould rather behold him with the ſame ſenſations which we might feel for a man ſtanding on a pinnacle, in a ſtorm. — Literary enterpriſe has always a right to encouragement; and labour is intitled to reſpect, at leaſt, and attention, even where ſucceſs is uncertain, and reward unhoped. Let M. de Gebelin, therefore, plead his claim to a candid and impartial hearing. His reſearches bear immediate relation to the buſineſs and intereſts of man; if he ſucceed, let us applaud him; if he fail, let us forgive him. M.

Philoſophical inquiries concerning the Egyptians and the Chineſe. By M. de P——. [xxxii. 551.] French. 12mo. 2 vols. *Berlin.* —— This author divides his work into three parts. In the firſt he treats of the Chineſe and Egyptian women, the ſtate of population among both people, and the food they live upon. The ſecond part is on the ſtate of painting and ſculpture among the Egyptians, the Chineſe, and the people of the Eaſt in general; concluding with the ſtate of chymiſtry and architecture amongſt the Egyptians and Chineſe. The third, which is the largeſt part, is wholly on the religion and government of the Egyptians and Chineſe. From theſe ſeveral comparative views, the author deduces his conſequence, viz. That there never was any migration from Egypt to China; at leaſt, that the Chineſe were *not* originally a colony from Egypt. M. [xxi. 577. xxii 23. xxviii. 130.]

The true principles of government. By a late magiſtrate. French. 8vo. 2 vols. *Paris.* —— The author of this work appears to be a ſincere friend to truth, to virtue, and to liberty; and to be well acquainted with political ſubjects. He writes in a clear, eaſy, and natural manner; but he has advanced nothing that is new. In regard to religion, it is very obvious what his ſentiments are: it is but juſtice to acknowledge, however, that he writes upon this ſubject in a much more modeſt and decent manner, than the generality of modern French writers. M.

The works of M. Thomas, of the French academy, a new edition, &c. French. 12mo. 4 vols. *Paris.* — We have here an edition of M. Thomas's proſe-works much ſuperior to any of the former editions. M.

The military art of the Chineſe; or, A collection of ancient treatiſes upon war, compoſed before the Chriſtian æra, by different Chineſe generals. To which are added, ten precepts addreſſed to the troops by the Emperor Yong tcheng, father of the preſent Emperor. Tranſlated into French by P. Amiot, miſſionary at Peking. Reviſed and publiſhed by M. Deguignes. French. 4to. *Paris.* —— An advertiſement prefixed to this curious publication informs us, that the treatiſes upon the military art of the Chineſe, which are contained in it, were ſent from China, by the tranſlator, to M. Bertin, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate; that M. Bertin, with the King's permiſſion, maintains

tains a regular correſpondence with ſome learned Chineſe, who tranſmit memoirs every year to France, and which are communicated by the miniſter to the public. M.

Experimental chymiſtry. By M. Baumé; [a public teacher of chymiſtry at Paris.] French. 3 vols. 8vo. *Paris.* —— The work now before us is perhaps one of the moſt complete ſyſtems that was ever publiſhed in any ſcience. It is the reſult of much experience in the practice of chymiſtry, and in its application to the moſt uſeful arts in life. The author's reaſoning is extremely chaſte; he has carefully avoided every theory which is not founded on induction, and which is not derived from experiment and obſervation; and we recommend this valuable work to our chymical readers, not only for the ſcience which it contains, but for the perſpicuity and method with which the author has treated his ſubject.—M. Baumé has publiſhed many important diſcoveries in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, of which he is a member, and has given us an excellent treatiſe upon æther; all of which, together with moſt of the new diſcoveries and improvements in chymiſtry, are to be found in this valuable publication. —We are ſorry that our author ſeems not to underſtand, or not to believe, the doctrine of fixed air, as delivered to us by the ingenious Dr Black, on the ſubject of Magneſia, which has been inconteſtably proved to bear ſuch relation to alkaline ſalts and calcarious earths as to determine their cauſticity or mildneſs: and we muſt do that juſtice to our countrymen to declare, that the united labours of Black, Macbride, Cavendiſh, and Prieſtly, have contributed more, by their experiments on the ſubject of fixed air, toward the reformation of chymical philoſophy, than the philoſophers of other countries. M.

Letters to Voltaire. By M. Clement. French. 8vo *Paris.* —— There is no writer of the preſent age, whoſe works have been ſo generally read and admired as thoſe of Voltaire. The old, the young, the grave, the gay, the divine, and the politician, the ſpeculative philoſopher, and the man of the world; readers, in a word, of every claſs, and of every character, find much entertainment, and many things to admire, in them. It cannot be denied, however, that though there is much to admire, there is likewiſe much to blame in his writings; that he has contributed greatly, eſpecially in France, to the prevailing depravity both of taſte and manners; that he is far from being a perfect model in any ſpecies of compoſition; and that no writings are more obviouſly calculated than his to promote a ſpirit of libertiniſm and infidelity. — A critical inquiry, therefore, into the character of M. Voltaire, conſidering him as a poet, a dramatic writer, an hiſtorian, &c. carried on by a man of taſte and genius, cannot fail of proving agreeable to every friend to literature, good taſte, and good morals. —The author of the letters before us ſeems extremely well qualified for conducting ſuch an inquiry, as far as we can judge from that part of the work which is already publiſhed. He propoſes, in a ſeries of letters, to enter into a full examination of Voltaire's works; not with a view to depreciate them, but to ſhew, that he ought, by no means, to be conſidered as the great maſter of French literature and poetry; that the wide-ſpread and growing corruption of taſte in France is principally owing to him; and to point out the numerous blemiſhes in his beſt poetical productions; blemiſhes which, he ſays, are owing to a paſſion for *bel eſprit*, — the moſt formidable enemy to nature and genius. Of the productions of his dotage, however, he propoſes, out of tenderneſs to him, to take no notice: they are only fit, indeed, to regale the giddy, the unprincipled, the libertine, and the debauchee. Like a generous and ſpirited adverſary, M. C. attacks him in his ſtrongholds, the works of his better days, when his genius was in its full bloom and vigour. M.

The Seaſons, a poem. French. 8vo. *Amſterdam.* —— This is the 5th edition of this excellent poem. The ingenious author has taken great pains to correct and improve it. He has added a few notes, one upon gardens: he compares the Engliſh and French taſte in gardening, and gives the preference to that of the Engliſh, upon which he beſtows the higheſt commendations. M.

The elegies of Propertius, tranſlated by M. de Longchamps. French. 8vo. *Paris.* —— This tranſlation, which is in proſe, is not a cold, literal tranſlation, but has much of the force and ſpirit of the original. M.

PREFERMENT *.

A petition of John Maclellan, Eſq; a lieutenant in the 30th regiment of foot, claiming the title and honours of Lord Kirkcudbright [xxiii. 218. xxiv. 219.], was heard before the houſe of Lords on the 15th of March, and ſome days afterward; and, May 3. the claim was ſuſtained. —— On the 15th of that month, John Lord Kirkcudbright had the honour to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, on having the honours of his anceſtors confirmed to him by a decree of the houſe of Lords. His Lordſhip was introduced by the Earl of Oxford, and accompanied to court by the Earl of Loudon.

* *In the Index, this, by miſtake, is marked to be in p.* 703.

The

The LONDON General Bill of Christenings and Burials, from December 15. 1772, to December 14. 1773; with the diseases and casualties, &c.

Christened			Buried			Decreased in the burials this year
Males	8549	16805	Males	10839	21656	4397.
Females	8256		Females	10817		

Between	Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.	Age.	No.
	Died under 2	6850	20 and 30	1953	60 and 70	1524	101	1
	2 and 5	1589	30 and 40	2325	70 and 80	1113	102	0
	5 and 10	655	40 and 50	2306	80 and 90	444	103	0
	10 and 20	839	50 and 60	2004	90 and 100	53	105	0

Diseases.							
Abort. and Stillb.	714	Dropsy	970	Lethargy	2	Tympany	3
Aged	1490	Evil	28	Lunatic	64	Vomit. and Loosen.	8
Ague	5	Fever, Malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	3608	Measles	199	Worms	11
Apoplexy and Sud.	221			Miscarriage	2	*Casualties.*	
Asthma and Phthis.	434			Mortification	220	Broken Limbs	4
Bedridden	8	Fistula	6	Palsy	63	Burnt	14
Bleeding	12	Flux	13	Pleurisy	20	Drowned	123
Bloody Flux	3	French Pox	63	Quinsy	4	Excessive Drinking	4
Bursten and Rupture	10	Gout	70	Rash	4	Executed	18
Cancer	35	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	35	Rheumatism	14	Found Dead	7
Canker	4	Grief	6	Rickets	5	Killed by Falls, and several other Accidents	51
Chicken pox	2	Headach	2	Scald-head	4	Killed themselves	33
Childbed	192	Headmould sh. Horsshoehead, and Water in the Head	22	Scurvy	1	Murdered	7
Cholic, Gripes, Twisting of the Guts	44			Small Pox	1039	Overlaid	4
Cold	1	Jaundice	123	Sores and Ulcers	18	Scalded	2
Consumption	4825	Imposthume	2	Sore Throat	3	Smothered	1
Convulsions	5669	Inflammation	105	St Anthony's Fire	4	Stabbed	2
Cough, and Hooping-Cough	235	Itch	0	Stoppage in Stom.	11	Starved	6
Diabetes	3	Leprosy	3	Surfeit	1	Suffocated	3
				Swelling	1		
				Teeth	652		
				Thrush	61		

General Bill of Mortality for 1773, in EDINBURGH, and WEST-KIRK parish.

	Buried in the city.			*In the West-kirk-yard.*			
	Males.	Femal.	In all.	Males.	Femal	In all.	Total.
January	34	34	68	18	18	36	104
February	36	34	70	16	22	38	108
March	33	41	74	14	23	37	111
April	26	37	63	8	15	23	86
May	15	28	43	16	19	35	78
June	21	30	51	14	14	28	79
July	23	32	55	10	8	18	73
August	24	31	55	20	23	43	98
September	25	24	49	19	18	37	86
October	22	11	33	19	25	44	77
November	18	28	46	23	17	40	86
December	39	44	83	17	21	38	121
Total	316	374	690	194	223	417	1107

Between	Age.	No.
	Under 2 years	380
	2 & 5	112
	5 & 10	73
	10 & 20	56
	20 & 30	58
	30 & 40	70
	40 & 50	76
	50 & 60	99
	60 & 70	80
	70 & 80	60
	80 & 90	37
	90 & 100	6
	Decr. 74.	1107

Diseases, &c.										
Aged	117	Consumpt.	292	Iliac passion	1	Rupture	1	Water in head	1	
Apoplexy	1	Cramp in stom.	2	Inflammation	1	Small pox	127	Weakness	2	
Asthma	11	Draughts	1	Jaundice	3	Stillborn	37	*Casualties.*		
Bowelhive	42	Dropsy	3	Locked jaw	1	Suddenly	14	Drowned	1	
Cancer	1	Fever	231	Lunatic	1	Swelling	1	Executed	3	
Childbed	12	Fistula	1	Measles	49	Teething	76	Found dead	1	
Chincough	51	Flux	5	Nerves	1	Timpany	1	Killed by falls	3	
Colic	1	Gravel	4	Palsy	3	Vermin	1	Smothered	3	

The burials in the Canongate and Calton burial-places are not included.

PARIS. Births 18,847; Deaths 18,518; Marriages 4810; Foundling children 5989.

GLASGOW. Deaths: 633 males, 686 females, is 1319. Decreased 260.

* *In our annual mortality-bill for* 1772 [xxxiv. 728.] *lin ult. read* Increased 377.

INDEX to the ESSAYS, EXTRACTS, BOOKS, HISTORY, &c. 1773.

As I *and* J, *and likewiſe* U *and* V, *are each a diſtinct letter, both in character and power, they are, in the following indexes, kept diſtinct, and arranged alphabetically in the order in which they are here ſet down.*

N. B. *When different pages are referred to at any article, if the numbers are diſjoined by a comma, the firſt figure or figures in the preceding numbers are ſuppoſed to be repeated in the ſubſequent.*

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